

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

## As Nixon goes under

# Now the real cover-up begins

The political life of Richard Nixon, a typical example of the lying, venal capitalist politician, is finished. The capitalist class, which buys and sells all the Democratic and Republican politicians, has decided to trade Nixon in for a new model: a slightly used Ford.

The hypocritical windbags in Congress, the sanctimonious pundits of the capitalist newspapers, and other upholders of capitalist rule are joining in the chorus proclaiming that with Nixon out of office, the Watergate scan-

dal will be over, and the cover-up finished. According to news accounts, Ford's assignment is to "move quickly to eliminate remnants of scandal from the Administration and to restore public confidence."

## An editorial

But the real cover-up is just beginning. The rulers of this country need a new front man in the White House. They need someone with a less tarnished image to accomplish their key task of shoring up confidence in

the two-party system and other institutions through which they maintain their control. They need to cover up the fact that the policies and methods of rule that have aroused the hatred of the American people for Nixon will continue, despite the change in the occupant of the White House.

Who are these rulers? Not the majority, the working people who produce the wealth with their labor, and who provide the troops that are shipped off to fight and die in Washington's wars. No, this country is controlled by a tiny elite, an aristocracy of bankers and industrialists, who profit from the wars and from the class exploitation and racism and sexism of capitalism. This tiny group controls both the Democratic and the Republican parties, from the corrupt politicians in city halls across the country right on up to the equally corrupt "statesmen" in Washington.

The real cover-up now underway is the cover-up of this system of *class rule*—a system that is by necessity built on corruption, on secrecy, and on lies.

It is this capitalist system that is responsible for the secret war Nixon waged in Cambodia, just as it was responsible for Johnson's esca-

lation of the aggression in Vietnam, for Kennedy's Bay of Pigs adventure, for Eisenhower's invasion of Lebanon, for Truman's decision to unleash the unspeakable horrors of nuclear war on Hiroshima and Nagasaki . . . and the list goes on and on.

It is this capitalist system that breeds and perpetuates racist discrimination, because racism is profitable to the exploiters of labor. And when Blacks stand up and resist this oppression they are shot down by the police terror squads in ghettos across the land, or by FBI and other secret police agencies carrying out government orders to "disrupt and destroy" the Black liberation movement.

It is this system that continually restricts and infringes on democratic rights of the American people, turning over to men such as Nixon and Mitchell, Haldeman and Dean, control of vast repressive arsenals to be used to silence dissenters, to plant spies and provocateurs in unions and protest groups, and to frame up those fighting for peace and social justice.

These are the crimes that the ruling class is desperately trying to keep covered up. Because it is these crimes against humanity that

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## Will Portugal free its African colonies?/10



Praia, Cape Verde Islands, May Day. Liberation fighters demand independence from Portugal.

PAIGC Nat'l Support Committee

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**BILINGUAL ELECTIONS IN NEW YORK:** All elections in New York City must be conducted in Spanish as well as English, a federal judge has ruled. The ruling was a final opinion in a case filed a year ago that resulted in bilingual ballots for the 1973 mayoral elections in New York City. In the decision, Judge Charles Stewart said that the court-ordered provision of bilingual ballots and bilingual personnel at the polls is a fundamental right of Spanish-speaking voters.

The first bilingual New York elections were held in May 1973 in response to a suit filed with the cooperation of the Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund and the Committee for Democratic Election Laws. While Judge Stewart ordered bilingual ballots in that election, his latest decision covering all further elections assures even more protection for Spanish-speaking voters.

Stewart has also ordered that the personnel at the polling sites must be bilingual. Formerly, the Board of Elections had hired interpreters to assist the personnel conducting the elections, but these individuals were poorly trained and often ignored by the officials at the polling sites.

## Subscription rate to rise

Because of rising costs The Militant must raise its subscription rates as of Sept. 15. The cost of paper, ink, and other printing expenses, mailing supplies, and second-class postage have gone up dramatically in the past year. Further increases are in store in the months ahead.

Readers may renew their subscription at the current rates of \$5 for one year and \$10 for two years before the new rates go into effect. Your subscription will be automatically extended regardless of when it expires. New readers are encouraged to subscribe now to take advantage of the lower rate.

After Sept. 15, the rates will be \$4 for six months, \$7.50 for one year, and \$13 for two years.

Our overall publishing expenses—from photography to travel—are also on the rise. We appeal to readers to help us meet these ongoing costs by sending in a contribution or pledging a monthly donation.

**MASSACHUSETTS CLAMPS MORE RESTRICTIONS ON ABORTION RIGHTS:** The Massachusetts legislature voted Aug. 2 to override Governor Francis Sargeant's veto of an anti-abortion bill sponsored by "right-to-life" forces. Sargeant vetoed the bill one day before the end of the legislative session—giving the House and Senate ample time to put this bill into law.

The bill requires that women under 18 must have the consent of both parents to obtain an abortion. And after 24 weeks no abortions are allowed except to save the life or health of the woman.

The enactment of these new restrictions is the culmination of an aggressive campaign launched several months ago by reactionary forces in the state.

In response, a number of women's organizations and individuals have joined together to form the Committee to Defend Abortion Rights. On July 30 the committee held a picket of 150 people in Boston to protest this reactionary legislation.

**GAY RIGHTS BILL DEFEATED:** By a vote of 6 to 2 on July 19, the Worcester, Mass., city council rejected legislation proposed by the Worcester Gay Union that would have prohibited discrimination against homosexuals in the areas of housing and employment. In the process of the debate, Thomas Dutton, chairman of the Union, promised a stepped-up fight in Worcester and noted a proliferation of gay-rights organizations and struggles influenced greatly by the Worcester campaign.

**LAWTON, GARDNER TRIAL DELAYED:** The third trial of Gary Lawton and Zurebu Gardner was further delayed until Sept. 24 at the request of the Riverside, Calif., district attorney's office.

Lawton and Gardner have been out on bail since the conclusion of the first trial. They now are awaiting a third trial. The two previous trials have ended in hung juries. A majority of the jurors have voted for their acquittal.

The defendants are Black men charged with killing two white cops in Riverside in 1971. Deputy District Attorney Ron Smith presented a motion requesting delay of the trial for 42 days. Smith said in an affidavit that he had only recently been appointed to the case and needed time to prepare for the trial.

A spokesperson for the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee stated, "These men are being persecuted because they are Black and because Gary Lawton was an active political organizer in Riverside. The prosecution knows that these men will never be convicted, so they are

attempting to drag this frame-up out as long as possible to further harass and persecute these two men."

**COPPER BARGAINING UNITY BROKEN BY TEAMSTER OFFICIALS:** Militant correspondent Betsy McDonald reports that Teamster Local 310 separately approved a settlement with American Metal Climax Mining Company (Amax), Twin Buttes, Ariz., on July 30—splitting with the 26-union bargaining coalition for the copper industry. The United Steelworkers union is the main union in the coalition.

The Steelworkers struck the next day as the company and Teamsters crossed their picket lines, which made it possible for a court to halt the strike with a temporary injunction.

The steering committee for the national coalition had rejected a tentative settlement that had been accepted by the four local Amax unions because it fell short of the common wage agreement the coalition is seeking to gain industry-wide.

The coalition of union officials has kept its meetings, negotiations, and terms secret from the rank and file. Teamster officials took advantage of local sentiments for the right to ratify their contract to challenge the authority of the coalition and of the Steelworkers union at Amax, where two-thirds of the workers are Teamsters.

The Teamsters' defection is being used by the copper bosses to try to force lesser settlements.

*This issue of The Militant is the last before our summer break. We will resume our regular weekly schedule with the issue dated Sept. 6.*

**RALLY PROTESTS COP TERROR:** The Pittsburgh Socialist Workers Party sponsored a weekend of activities centering on a street meeting and evening forum Aug. 3 in response to police terror in the Black community. Cops there have been on a vicious manhunt in the Black community following the killing of a white cop.

The street meeting was held in a shopping area in the Black community. Vince Eagan, Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Georgia, told how the movement in Atlanta is learning to rely on the strength of the Black community rather than to put faith in Democrats such as Mayor Maynard Jackson.

Christina Adachi, Socialist Workers candidate for U. S. Senate from Pennsylvania, called for removal of the police from the Black community and for replacing them with a force drawn from and responsible to Black people.

That evening, the Militant Forum discussed the police and the Black community. Speaking were Sala Udin, a leader of the Congress of African People and chairman of Citizens Opposed to a Police State (COPS), the organization set up in response to the police rampage; Tim Stevens, executive director of the Pittsburgh NAACP; and Vince Eagan.

Special guest Naomi Jones, mother of one of the targets of the cop manhunt, told the audience that "the Pittsburgh police are not better than the Ku Klux Klan."

—NORMAN OLIVER

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# Michigan CLUW women: 'Orient unions to fight for women's rights'

By MARTHA PETTIT

DETROIT—More than 250 women from 26 national and international unions attended the Southeast Michigan Organizing Conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). The conference was held at the hall of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 212 here July 21.

The conference was organized for the purpose of establishing chapters of CLUW in the five counties of Southeast Michigan—Wayne, Oakland, Macomb, Washtenaw, and Monroe.

The composition of the conference reflected the breadth of CLUW's appeal and the heterogeneity of women in the labor movement. About one-third of the women were Black. All ages were represented, from young women just entering the work force to union retirees. The vast majority of women were rank-and-file members of unions, but all levels of union leadership were involved.

This was the first CLUW conference in Michigan since national CLUW was founded in March. The founding conference, held in Chicago, attracted 3,200 women unionists who adopted a statement of purpose, established a national structure and guidelines, and elected national officers as well as state conveners and union representatives.

Paula Reimers, conference coordinator and Michigan state convener for CLUW, chaired the plenary session at the Michigan conference. In her opening remarks she pointed to the breadth of involvement of women from many unions in organizing the conference. A planning committee of 60, representing 20 unions and 45 locals, met for five weeks to work on the conference.

Letters were sent to presidents of all UAW and AFL-CIO local unions in Southeast Michigan informing them of the conference and asking them to promote it among their members. Many union locals sent the conference call to their union stewards with a cover letter asking that it be posted on union bulletin boards at workplaces.

The United Auto Workers, the strongest union in Michigan, donated materials and facilities to the building of the conference.

Endorsements for CLUW have been obtained by CLUW activists from many local unions. In addition, the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO Council, the Michigan Federation of Teachers, and the Michigan State American Postal Workers have given their endorsement. The support and cooperation from the union movement was the key to the successful turnout.

Olga Madar, national president of CLUW, outlined the purpose and function of the organization. CLUW, she said, is a national organization of



Militant/Martha Pettit

Detroit. Union women decide to establish chapters of Coalition of Labor Union Women, vote support to organizing drives.

union women working in their unions in an interunion framework to promote issues that concern and affect women on the job and in society.

She stressed the importance of working within the unions—of going to the unions and orienting them to fight for women's issues. In order to do this effectively, she pointed out, the unions will have to be democratized so that they truly represent the needs of all their members. More women must be included in policy-making and leadership positions and, most importantly, union women must force their unions to carry out the numerous resolutions already passed on women's rights.

"The very issues with which you are concerned are already spelled out in your unions," she said. "The only problem is that we've been spelling them out for years and now it's time to implement them. And that's your job to do."

"We are not in the business," Madar continued, "of organizing either on the national level or a chapter level the kind of organization where a few people act and speak on behalf of the others. But we are in the process of involving union women throughout the United States, in all the counties, so that they, through their unions, can put a priority on the many issues and the many problems which have plagued women at the workplace and in the community."

Discrimination against women in social security and credit, inadequate health coverage, and the exemption of many women workers from coverage by health and safety legislation were mentioned by Madar as possible

areas of activity for CLUW. She also suggested that chapters and the national office might disseminate information on the discriminatory employment practices of companies such as Sears, Xerox, and J.L. Hudson in Detroit.

"Just as we should be mobilizing our forces to do better in relationship to the boycott of lettuce and wine," she said, "we ought to do it in relationship to all of the companies that discriminate against women."

Greetings were brought to the conference from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and from the United Farm Workers (UFW). Mary Lopez of the UFW was greeted with a standing ovation.

Eileen Foley, executive board member of the Newspaper Guild, presented recommendations on local structure and activities from the conference planning committee. Five committees were proposed, with a steering committee to coordinate the work of the chapter. All of the committees will carry out various aspects of the number one priority for CLUW at this time: building CLUW by attracting more union women.

Two activities were proposed for chapter involvement: support to the UFW boycott and support to organizing drives such as the one being carried on by the Newspaper Guild at the *Detroit News*.

The Newspaper Guild is trying to organize the editorial department at the *News*, Detroit's largest evening newspaper. About 30 percent of the department's 1,000 members are

women. They face many kinds of discrimination on the job including being denied merit pay increases and promotion and upgrading equal with male counterparts. The organizing drive was sparked earlier this year by layoffs at the *News* of a large number of employees, many of them women who had worked there for as long as 25 years. A number of support activities are being considered by CLUW in conjunction with the Newspaper Guild organizers.

The proposal on structure, as well as the suggestions for activities, were adopted unanimously by the plenary session and later by the county workshops.

SEATTLE—Fifty women unionists representing 20 union locals participated in a meeting of the Seattle Area Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) Organizing Committee July 24 at the AFL-CIO Labor Temple.

One of the highlights of the meeting was the reading of a letter from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 1488 inviting Seattle Area CLUW to have a statewide conference of labor union women at the University of Washington in the fall to be hosted by AFSCME.

The invitation was enthusiastically accepted and planning has begun for a two-day conference in late October.

Anna Padilla of Pacific Northwest Newspaper Guild and pro tem chairwoman of Seattle Area CLUW announced that the Newspaper Guild endorsed CLUW at its national convention in St. Louis July 15-19.

## Canadian abortionist sentenced to 18 months

By BRIGIDTE COOPER

TORONTO—Doctor Henry Morgentaler was sentenced July 25 to 18 months' imprisonment. In addition, a three-year probationary period was imposed during which Morgentaler cannot perform abortions in his Montreal clinic.

Morgentaler is free on bail pending the outcome of an appeal of his case to the Supreme Court of Canada. The Supreme Court hearing is set for Oct. 4.

Morgentaler is an outspoken oppo-

nent of Canada's anti-abortion law. He has publicly admitted to having performed thousands of abortions during the past few years. He was acquitted last year by a Québec jury on one of 13 charges of performing an illegal abortion. The jury decision was overturned by a Québec appeals court last April. It is under this ruling that the July 25 sentence was pronounced.

The sentencing of Morgentaler represents an important step in the government's attempt to victimize Morgentaler and deal a blow to the abortion

rights movement.

Supporters of Doctor Morgentaler across Canada are planning protests in the fall in advance of the Supreme Court hearing. The Committees to Defend Dr. Morgentaler are calling for international support in their fight to have the charges against Morgentaler dropped and to repeal Canada's anti-abortion law.

Letters of protest should be sent to the Toronto Committee to Defend Dr. Morgentaler, P.O. Box 186, Station F, Toronto, Canada.

## Workers kept in dark

# Bell Telephone, CWA tops reach 'tentative' pact

By FRANK LOVELL

An agreement, described as "tentative," was announced two hours before a nationwide strike set for midnight, Aug. 4, that would have called out 750,000 workers at the Bell Telephone System.

The announcement was made jointly by Glenn Watts, president of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), Rex Reed, vice-president of the Bell System, and W.J. Usery Jr., director of the Federal Conciliation and Mediation Service.

Watts represents 500,000 CWA members. Another 250,000 telephone workers are represented by several smaller unions and are expected to accept the terms of a master contract for the system.

The tentative settlement reportedly amounts to a 35 percent increase in wages and fringe benefits over a three-year period. There was no mention of an escalator clause to protect these low-paid workers against rising prices. Before-tax wage scales range from \$123.50 a week for beginner telephone operators to \$260 weekly top pay for maintenance and repair workers.

Watts said that many local issues remain unsettled and bargaining will continue.

The secrecy and uncertainty of negotiations since May 15 have kept telephone workers uninformed about what was being decided for them.

The mystery surrounding these negotiations follows closely the pattern set in 1971. At that time, the CWA called a nationwide strike to redress long-standing grievances against the

telephone company only to order all strikers back to work on company terms after three days.

Reports from CWA locals around the country indicate that the tentative national agreement this year may have been reached by top union officials and the telephone company well in advance of the July 17 expiration date of the 1971 contract. If so, the delayed announcement was necessitated by the continuing problem of how to get the telephone workers to accept the deal.

A July 10 report to *The Militant* from Seattle said that union negotiators at that time had leaked word that they were ready to settle for a \$1.98 package, which included a 16 percent wage increase, 10 percent for inflation and 6 percent for productivity. The union was also asking for better medical benefits, a dental plan, improved pensions, and continuation of a cost-of-living allowance. None of this was explained to the membership, only stated in the most general terms as "demands."

A report was circulated through CWA locals that these modest union proposals were flatly rejected by the company after high-ranking management representatives met with George Shultz, until recently a member of Nixon's cabinet and a top adviser to the president. The purpose was to create the impression that CWA members were facing a company-government offensive and probably would not be able to oppose it very effectively.

Seattle CWA members were advised to call a special phone number, which



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Communication workers picket in Los Angeles during 1971 strike

played a recording on the "progress" of negotiations, giving no information. The explanation of local officials was that a "negotiations blackout" had been declared, the Orwellian logic being that union ranks cannot be told anything because what they are told one day may not be true the next because of "the fluid nature of negotiations."

In Cleveland on July 19, 83 members of CWA Local 4309 at the Ohio Bell Telephone Company walked out. The walkout was reportedly over lack of information about contract talks, and it was said to have been unauthorized.

In Solon, Ohio, 500 CWA members of Local 4395 demonstrated against the suspension of an operator who was charged with not doing enough

work on her shift. Local president James Smullen said the demonstration was against company harassment. "In the past few months, 10 persons have been suspended and two have been fired," he said. All 500 demonstrators were suspended by Western Electric.

An Associated Press survey of several major CWA locals showed on July 31 that membership sentiment was strong for strike. One New York local voted by better than 18 to 1 to strike. Local 10410 in New Orleans voted 90 percent for strike.

A Chicago correspondent for *The Militant* reported July 30: "The CWA here voted 9 to 1 in favor of a strike and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers voted 15 to 1, in spite of the fact that the unions refused to divulge their exact bargaining goals, and have provided union members with little or no information on either the negotiations or the upcoming strike."

"The telephone company, on the other side, has bombarded its employees with information about generous offers and how the unions have rejected them."

"The telephone workers here are very serious about a strike, as seen by the union meetings where attendance is at an all-time high. They feel that only a solid strike, even if it has to be a long one, will force the company to grant livable wages and decent benefits."

Telephone workers will have another chance to judge the intentions of the company when they see the exact terms of their "tentative" agreement and learn what progress is being made.

Continued on page 30

## Telephone workers strike Western Electric

CHICAGO—A strike of 50,000 Western Electric workers in eight states was called Aug. 5 by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) for a new contract with the telephone company.

Western Electric is the manufacturing and supply division of American Telephone and Telegraph, and it produces most of the equipment for the Bell System.

The walkout came after an announcement by the Communications Workers of America (CWA), which represents most of the telephone operators and repair workers, that a "tentative" agreement on wages had been reached.

Few details of the CWA agreement were released and the additional demands of the IBEW were not spelled out, except the announcement by IBEW officials that they would not accept the terms offered by the company to CWA and other unions representing operators and repair workers.

Pickets told *The Militant* that one of the central demands of the 14,000 strikers in this area is a cost-of-living clause in any new contract that is signed. One worker said this was the first strike here against Western Electric since 1904.

In a related development, 500 Cleveland members of the CWA met Aug. 7 to protest terms of the "tentative"

contract approved by union officials and the Bell System. The workers had joined an unauthorized walkout two days earlier that has involved half of Greater Cleveland's 10,000 telephone workers.

The workers at the meeting, mainly young, with many women and Blacks, pointed out that the new contract would not protect them from inflation. Many spoke of the skyrocketing prices they must pay and some said the new pact would represent a cut in real wages. The workers demanded that the contract negotiations be reopened and they set further meetings to discuss whether to continue their walkout.

# Chile death sentences commuted after protest

NEW YORK—Death sentences that had been handed down to four Chileans, supporters of the deposed Allende government, have been commuted to prison terms of 30 years. The decision was announced Aug. 5 by a military judge after widespread international protests.

The "death by firing squad" sentences had been handed down July 30 to three air force men and Carlos Lazos Frias, a member of the Chilean Socialist Party and former vice-president of the state bank.

The sentences were a result of mass trials of air force personnel and civilians rounded up after the rightist coup last September. Fifty-six additional prisoners were given sentences of 300 days to life imprisonment, on charges such as "treason."

Although protesters had demanded that all political prisoners in Chile be freed, the commutation is viewed

as a partial victory and further evidence that world outcry can force the junta to back down from its murderous assaults.

In New York City on Aug. 1, protesters picketed the Chilean Mission to the United Nations. They chanted, "No executions—free the Chilean political prisoners."

Participating were many members of the newly formed September Chile Action Coalition. The coalition will coordinate events being planned for next month around the first anniversary of the coup.

Among the activities will be a rally-concert Sept. 6 and a picket line Sept. 11. The coalition will demand: Free the political prisoners in Chile, end the ban on trade unions and political parties, and end U.S. aid to the junta.

Planning meetings for the September activities have included representatives from: Chile Solidarity Committee,

U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), Chileans for Democracy, Emergency Committee to Save Chilean Health Workers, Medical Committee for Human Rights, North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), Asian Americans for Action, New American Movement, CASA, Coalicion de Latino Americanos y Amigos de Latin America (CLAN), Young Workers Liberation League, and Young Socialist Alliance.

The Sept. 6 rally-concert will be held at Columbia University and will feature entertainment as well as speakers.

The Sept. 11 picket line will be held at International Telephone & Telegraph (IT&T)—a symbol of U.S. involvement in the coup.

For further information on the September protests, contact the September Chile Action Coalition at (212) 691-2880 or 691-9025.



Militant/Della Russo

'Freedom for the political prisoners'



# What's in store for Richard Nixon?

By DICK ROBERTS

For just over two years Richard Nixon succeeded in bottling up the most damning Watergate evidence.

But when the incriminating tapes were finally turned over, the blow to Nixon's supporters—and to the capitalist government itself—proved to be devastating.

"Portions of the tapes of these . . . conversations are at variance with certain of my previous statements," Nixon admitted in the accompanying statement.

In the tape of the June 23, 1972, meeting in Nixon's Oval Office, six days after the Watergate break-in, the president ordered his chief of staff, H. R. Haldeman, to tell the head of the FBI:

"Don't go any further into this case period."

"How can you defend a man when he has pleaded guilty before the trial begins?" an unnamed Dixiecrat, formerly on the list of Nixon "reliables" in the Senate, asked the *New York Times*.

By Aug. 7, every single one of the Congressmen who had voted against Nixon's impeachment in the House Judiciary Committee had changed sides.

Vice-president Ford's staff was reported to be preparing to move into the White House. Someone remembered that the man might know something about foreign policy—he had been in a seminar led by Henry Kissinger some years ago. Among those being rumored as possible future vice-presidents were Nelson Rockefeller and Elliot Richardson.

## New tapes

The new tapes smelled as bad or worse than the earlier ones, and there was the possibility of even more tapes coming out quickly. Consider:

- Election campaigns are supposed to present basic issues to the electorate. According to the June 23 tape, Nixon talked about places for his wife and daughters to appear as follows:

"The Arts you know—they're Jews, they're left wing—in other words, stay away. . . .

"Middle America—put that word out—Middle America-type of people. . . . Why the hell doesn't Parker get that kind of thing going? . . . I mean do the cancer thing. . . ."

Anti-Semitism is the stock-in-trade of the White House crew; it goes by in such a conversation without notice. Victims of cancer are showpieces to be exploited; Julie and Tricia Nixon are willing pawns to be orchestrated in the election game.

- The president is supposed to be knowledgeable in international affairs. The United States is conducting an offensive in world trade and finance threatening to plunge rival imperialist nations like Italy into economic chaos:

Haldeman: "Did you get the report that the British floated the pound?"

Nixon: "That's devaluation? . . . It's too complicated for me to get into."

Haldeman: "Burns is concerned about speculation about the lira."

Nixon: "Well, I don't give a [expletive deleted] about the lira. [Unintelligible.]"

So much for Washington's European allies. And this was a few months before his announcement that 1973 would be the "Year of Europe," a time to knit together the Atlantic Alliance.

The conservative Democratic and Republican coalition in Congress on whose support Nixon's future as a president depended had talked them-



Getting rid of 'Watergate problem' won't be as easy as replacing Nixon with Ford



selves into a bind.

To convict someone, the "honorable colleagues" of the House and Senate told each other and explained to TV viewers, you must have facts. "Circumstantial evidence" will not do.

These lawyers conveniently forgot the careers that got them into Congress to begin with: how many poor and oppressed they had railroaded into prisons before, solely on the basis of "circumstantial evidence."

A teenage Puerto Rican must have robbed an apartment "because he is a dope addict," because "he did it before," because "he has a criminal record." Send him to jail? "It's for his own good."

"I did it," Richard Nixon said, while maintaining he should stay in office.

His support crumbled. Senator Robert Dole (R-Kans.), former chairman of the Republican National Committee, stated that "all but a handful of Republicans would like to see" the president resign.

The remaining handful of Congressional supporters advanced such staunch arguments as Representative Earl Landgrebe (R-Ind.): "I'm sticking by my President even if he and I have to be taken out of this building and shot."

Probably more representative of those who urged immediate resignation was lawyer William Coleman, a former U.S. official. On the opinion page of the *New York Times*, Aug. 7, Coleman suggested that Nixon should be "permitted, if he desires, before resignation to destroy tapes, memoranda



JULIE NIXON EISENHOWER: Do the cancer thing.

and other material connected in any way with Watergate and related matters."

But the editors of the *New York Times* continued to push their long-standing argument for impeachment: "The transfer of power must not only be orderly and in full respect of the Constitution; it must be perceived as such by all factions, all elements of American society. To frustrate or short-circuit the solemn process of impeachment that is now well engaged in the Congress could have two adverse effects. It might leave lingering doubts about the extent of the President's complicity in a broad range of impeachable offenses. It would also deprive the American political system of a conclusive opportunity to define the fundamental principles of Presidential accountability."

There is a minor problem here too, however. If Nixon is a "confessed criminal," how to explain his lingering on before a House and Senate show trial in which he would be pilloried by the "honorable gentlemen and gentlewomen" in order to prove that democracy works?

Nixon, of course, like Agnew before him, has something to say on this. He is reported "by reliable sources" to be bargaining for clemency. The president may not want to go to the cushy "white collar" prisons at Lumpoc or Allentown. Maybe his bridge or tennis is off.

## Business as usual

The question of transferring power is not a small one to the rulers of this country. They are engaged in an increasingly sharp inflationary attack on the wages and standard of living of American workers.

They are following through a recessionary policy that is certain to swell the ranks of the unemployed. And there are more and more strike battles on the agenda as workers gather the forces to fight back.

In fact, momentum had been building up in business circles to get rid of Nixon because of fear that the executive had been too weakened to make these antilabor policies stick. That is why the stock market rose on rumors of Nixon's resignation.

A drawn-out impeachment could make matters worse. Impeachment advocates took heart from the thought that the new evidence might hasten the House and Senate process. There appeared to be agreement among Congressional leaders to move fast.

"The absence of a determined op-

position and of deliberate stonewalling tactics now means that the House can move with full responsibility in two or three days of debate, rather than the two weeks previously envisaged," said the *Times* editors.

Meanwhile high officials such as Arthur Burns of the Federal Reserve Board and William Simon, Treasury Secretary, have made it clear that they will pursue domestic "business as usual." On Aug. 6 Burns demagogically called for a program to hire 800,000 unemployed if the official unemployment rate rose above 6 percent, a sure sign that higher unemployment is precisely what the government has in mind. (A 6 percent unemployment level would mean more than five million people out of work.)

Henry Kissinger left an Aug. 6 Cabinet meeting to declare that foreign policy would continue on a bipartisan basis "in the national interest and the interest of world peace."

## Relief for Washington?

James Reston, the influential Washington-based vice-president of the *New York Times*, noted that members of Congress were "shocked but relieved by the evidence." Said Reston, they are "almost giddy that the shadow of Watergate is finally passing."

Even further off base was George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO. Meany declared that there "would be a tremendous change in the political situation if President Nixon were to resign now and President Ford were to succeed him. In that event the whole



KISSINGER: Foreign policy will remain same with or without Nixon.

onus of the Watergate affair would be removed from the Republicans."

This is wishful thinking.

In the first place, the central lessons of Watergate go far deeper than exposing Richard Nixon. The June 23 tape, for example, in addition to everything else, records the attempt by the head of the FBI to head off an investigation of the Watergate burglary and his effort to bring the CIA in on the scheme.

The cesspool of capitalist politics that has been revealed cannot suddenly be stopped up by getting rid of Nixon. This is not to mention further tapes that may come to light.

But in the second place there is another important backlash in store for the American ruling class and its flunkies like George Meany. When Nixon is deposed, and as the conditions of life continue to worsen for working people, millions will see that it is necessary to do more than change occupants of the White House.

# Minn. cops cover up harassment of SWP; support grows for 'disclosure' exemption

By LEE GEARHART

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Major Minnesota police officials evaded some questions and pleaded ignorance on others during a full-scale cover-up of their surveillance of the Socialist Workers Party at a public hearing of the Minnesota State Ethics Commission Aug. 1.

The commissioners heard one police official after another sidestep questions about police cooperation with the FBI.

Other cops testified they had "no knowledge" of instances of harassment and surveillance of SWP members and supporters.

The police statements are contradicted by sworn affidavits documenting illegal police activities that have been submitted to the Ethics Commission by the Minnesota Socialist Workers campaign committee.

The commission is being asked to exempt the Socialist Workers campaign committee from a new state campaign finances disclosure law on the grounds that making the names of contributors public would subject them to police harassment.

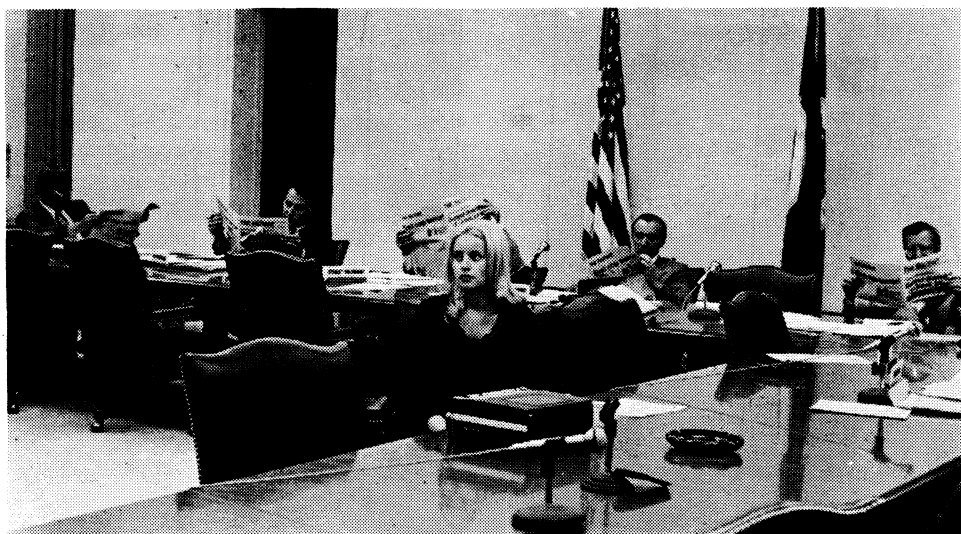
A provision of the law provides for exemption if it can be proven that release of the names of contributors would lead to reprisals against the contributors.

"The testimony of the local police officials has no credibility whatsoever for anyone who has seen the evidence presented here," said John Ratliff, a member of the legal staff of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is aiding in the Minnesota civil liberties case.

Ratliff said PRDF has "established beyond a doubt that there is a pattern of cooperation between the FBI and other federal agencies and the major city police forces in this country."

Appearing before the Ethics Commission here were representatives of the Hennepin and Ramsey County sheriffs' departments, the Minneapolis and St. Paul police departments, the Bureau of Criminal Apprehension, the Highway Patrol, the 525th Military Intelligence Group, and the University of Minnesota police department.

St. Paul police chief Richard Rowan was asked by Douglas Hall of the Legal Rights Center, who is representing the Socialist Workers campaign committee at the hearings, if the St. Paul police conducted surveillance of the SWP. Rowan answered, "Not to my knowledge." The



Ethics Commission members read Huston spy plan documents in The Militant

evasive response was repeated by other police officials throughout the evening.

Rowan conceded that the FBI might go directly to the Law Enforcement Aid (LEA) unit, the intelligence agency within the St. Paul police department, for political information. Rowan admitted that he was not routinely advised by the LEA of requests from the FBI.

Asked whether the FBI had made visits to the LEA to inquire about the SWP, Rowan again answered, "Not to my knowledge." He refused to state — as a fact — that such cooperation between the St. Paul police and the FBI did not take place.

He admitted that the police photographed antiwar demonstrations, but claimed that the photographs were disposed of if no violence or crimes resulted from the protests.

Rowan also said that photos were taken of demonstrations in support of the Wounded Knee defendants who are on trial at the federal court building in St. Paul.

Minneapolis Chief of Police Jack McCarthy refused to appear, sending a subordinate, Captain Rollo Mudge, who has headed the intelligence unit of the Minneapolis police for only eight months. Mudge, accompanied by Assistant City Attorney Reis Mitchel, proved as evasive as the cops who preceded him.

Asked if an investigation had been conducted of SWP contributors, Mudge said not to his knowledge. He said he had been unable to find any files on the SWP.

The Socialist Workers campaign committee has charged that in 1970,

an anti-Vietnam war fundraising party was raided and that Minneapolis police seized SWP literature and proceeded to call the FBI to ask if the individuals at the party should be held for questioning. The FBI said no, according to an FBI memo of the phone conversation. The memo was entered as evidence at a subsequent trial.

Captain Mudge said that the police files regarding the raid had been ordered destroyed by a district court. He said he had begun questioning police the day before the hearing and had been unable to find anyone who knew of the police call to the FBI after the raid.

Mudge said he had no knowledge of an incident in which a member of the SWP was harassed while selling *The Militant*, although an affidavit describing the incident has been lodged with the commission by the Socialist Workers campaign committee.

Reis Mitchel was trapped in a lie. The SWP has charged that police cars are parked outside its headquarters during public events.

Mitchel said that all the police officials he had questioned in the three days prior to the hearings did not know the address of the SWP headquarters. But under questioning by Doug Hall, Mitchel admitted that among the police officials he questioned was police lieutenant Charles Stenvig, former mayor of Minneapolis. Hall told Mitchel that Stenvig had in fact visited the SWP headquarters with right-wing radio commentator Paul Helm. (The details are listed in an affidavit with the commission.)

Confronted with the facts, Mitchel retreated, saying that he had not asked Stenvig where the SWP headquarters were located, and that only some of the police he questioned were unaware of the SWP's location in Minneapolis.

Also testifying was Wallace Hoaglund, chief deputy of the Hennepin County sheriff's office, which covers Minneapolis. Hoaglund said he had been chief deputy since July 26, 1974 — six days.

"You haven't even got your chair warmed up," attorney Hall cracked to general laughter from the spectators. This underlined that Hoaglund, as well as others, could tell the commission they were unaware of specific instances of surveillance and harassment of the SWP because they were not in a position to know whether it occurred.

Hoaglund, adopting the favorite police response, said that "to my knowledge" no photos were taken by Hennepin County sheriffs at antiwar demonstrations.

Howard Cecil, a special agent with the 525th Military Intelligence Group, located at Fort Snelling, south of Minneapolis, testified that he was "unfamiliar" with intelligence activities con-

ducted by the military at the University of Minnesota in 1970-71.

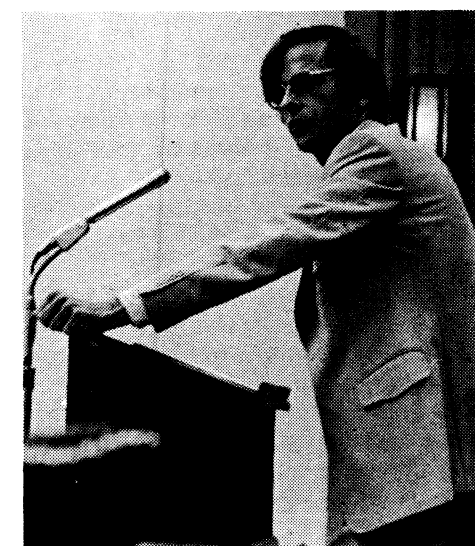
Cecil said he had not been with the Fort Snelling intelligence group at that time, but had been overseas, and that he had been at Fort Snelling only since Jan. 5, 1974. He said he was therefore unable to answer questions about the military spying, which included surveillance of members of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance during the antiwar demonstrations of that period.

The military spying is documented in a report made by a study group commissioned by the administration of the University of Minnesota and issued in 1971.

Cecil claimed that there were no files on the YSA and SWP at Fort Snelling. He said such records had been ordered destroyed several years ago after a U.S. Senate committee investigated military intelligence activities.

However, Cecil admitted under questioning by the commissioners that the local files were forwarded to a central military intelligence file.

A check of the police testimony indicates that despite some fancy footwork, most of the cops did not deny surveillance and harassment of the SWP. Still scheduled to testify in the next hearings, set for Aug. 8, are the Minneapolis postmaster and the FBI.



Ed Jurenas, socialist congressional candidate, tells Ethics Commission of cop surveillance.

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) has stepped up its support of the exemption case. Syd Stapleton, the national secretary of the PRDF, said the defense fund is "doing whatever it can to assist in this struggle to defend freedom of association."

Stapleton and John Ratliff, a member of the legal staff for PRDF, have been in Minnesota for 10 days aiding the supporters of the exemption fight.

New support statements came from the following persons:

Conrad Lynn, attorney; Reverend Philip Berrigan; Emile De Antonio, movie producer; Ken Meade, assemblyman, California legislature; Peter Young, attorney, National Lawyers Guild; and Sylvia Shapiro, former coordinator, San Diego McGovern campaign.

Also, abortion rights leader Barbara Roberts; Ramona Ripston, executive director of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union; and Bernardine Bryant, education director of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union in Minnesota and state convener of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Also, Herbert X Blyden, Attica Brothers Defense Committee; Lewis Antal, president, United Mine Workers District 5; Louis Menashe, pro-

Continued on page 30

## FBI reluctant to testify

ST. PAUL, Minn. — The FBI, hinting that it will balk at a subpoena, has announced that it must consult U.S. Attorney General William Saxbe before testifying about surveillance and harassment of the Minnesota Socialist Workers Party.

The Minnesota branch of the FBI was given a subpoena by an Ethics Commission official July 31 while demonstrators picketed outside the FBI's Minneapolis offices. The protesters were demanding that the FBI testify.

The next night, Assistant U.S. Attorney Stephen Palmer told commissioners that federal law required FBI agent Philip Enlow to get permission from the U.S. Attorney General before testifying.

However, a spokesman for the FBI in Washington, D.C., told the St. Paul *Dispatch* Aug. 2 that he knew of no law requiring FBI agents to secure permission from the attorney general's office before testifying at hearings of a govern-

ment agency.

According to the *Dispatch*, "Palmer said Enlow's refusal to testify was not an attempt to undermine the commission, but was consistent with the attorney general's policy of 'guarding against state courts and agencies subpoenaing anything they want.'"

Jane Van Deusen, Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Minnesota, said, "We don't want 'just anything,' but the sordid details of the FBI's criminal attacks on our party. If the FBI refuses to testify it will only be a confirmation of our charges against them and another reason for the commission to grant our request for an exemption."

The FBI has already admitted, under the pressure of lawsuits, that it has conducted extensive surveillance of the SWP and has had a disruption program in effect designed to block the SWP's growth. But much of the detail of the FBI's illegal activity remains top secret.



# Minnesotans: 'Open the secret police files'

By NICK RONSON

MINNEAPOLIS—A broad spectrum of prominent Twin Cities movement activists has demanded that Mayor Albert Hofstede and the Minneapolis city council open up the city's police files for an independent investigation into charges of police surveillance and harassment of political groups.

The call was made at a news conference Aug. 5, covered by Minneapolis's three major television stations.

"The Minneapolis [police] department is still stonewalling the people of this city," a letter by the local activists to the mayor stated.

The group charges that the Minneapolis police failed to give clear and complete answers to questions about political surveillance at a hearing of the Minnesota State Ethics Commission Aug. 1.

The letter stated that there was a "mass of evidence" that local police departments cooperate with the FBI in its program of surveillance and disruption of political groups.

Signing the Aug. 5 letter to the mayor and city council were:

Mulford Sibley, professor of political science at the University of Minnesota; James McDermott, human relations and college director for the Minnesota Federation of Teachers; and Jane Van Deusen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Minnesota.

Also, Mahmoud El-Kati, Black activist; the New American Movement, Minneapolis chapter; Betsy Farley, chairwoman, Young Socialist Al-



Jane Van Deusen, SWP gubernatorial candidate, (left) and Paula Giese, former professor at U. of Minnesota, call for independent investigation of police surveillance.

liance, Minneapolis chapter; and Elvis Swann, international representative of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union.

Also, Marvin Johnson, Minneapolis coordinator, U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners; Richard Bennett, publications director, Minnesota Federation of Teachers; Avis Foley, Minnesota Women's Task Force Director, Minnesota Women's Political Caucus; Ev Kolombokidis, Greek-American Soli-

darity; Paula Giese; and Robert Halfhill, Minnesota gay activist.

The ad hoc group said that despite police denials, the American Indian Movement, the Black community, and those active in the antiwar movement "have experienced police harassment and spying."

In her statement to the news conference, Jane Van Deusen called for the formation of a committee of the victims of police spying in Minneapolis to investigate the city's police de-

partment.

"There is a massive cover-up in progress," Van Deusen told reporters. She termed the testimony by police officials before the Ethics Commission Aug. 1 "an insult to the intelligence of the people of this state." The cops evaded questions regarding surveillance of the Socialist Workers Party.

Van Deusen said that the Socialist Workers campaign committee would present evidence to the commission Aug. 8 to jog "the failing memories" of police authorities who contend there is no surveillance of the SWP.

One of the items to be presented is a photograph of a Minneapolis police car stationed outside the public hall of the SWP in February while a political meeting in support of the Wounded Knee defendants was taking place inside.

Van Deusen also blasted the FBI for its reluctance to submit to questioning by the Ethics Commission.

She said that FBI agent Enlow's reluctance "flows from the criminal activities, including mail tampering, wiretapping, and burglary, carried out by his agency against the Young Socialist Alliance, the Socialist Workers Party, and others."

Paula Giese, a former professor at the University of Minnesota who was fired for her political beliefs, told the news conference that she was convinced that "there was a great deal of spying on the University of Minnesota campus" and that there was the use of agents provocateurs.

# Atlanta SWP demands end to cop spying

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA—Vince Eagan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia, demanded at a July 24 news conference that the Atlanta police stop spying on the SWP and that they turn over their secret files on the socialists.

In the packed city hall pressroom, Eagan presented extensive documentation of illegal police surveillance and harassment, including infiltration of public meetings by plainclothes cops, staking out of his campaign headquarters by a Decoy Squad unit, and public charges by Police Chief John Inman's attorney that the SWP is part of a "conspiracy" to destroy the police department.

Eagan had received no response to a letter to Chief Inman demanding the files. "If he does not comply we will take further action," Eagan said, "including legal action if necessary."

SWP candidate for lieutenant governor, Anne Teesdale, read a statement of support for the demand that the police release their secret files, and for the right of the Socialist Workers Party, its candidates and supporters, and the Young Socialist Alliance to function free of police surveillance and intimidation.

The statement was signed by J. Lowell Ware, editor of the Atlanta Voice; Reverend Hosea Williams of Metro Atlanta Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Willie Bolden, an international organizer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Gene Guerrero, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union of Georgia; Susan Barrett, coordinator, Georgians for the Equal Rights Amendment; Doctor Mack Jones, chairman of the political science department at Atlanta University; and others.

Police spying became a major issue

in Atlanta after an undercover spy was discovered working for the Voice, the largest-circulation Black newspaper in Georgia.

The Voice spy case had precipitated a city council attempt to impeach Inman. But Inman refused to answer a council subpoena on the Voice surveillance and obtained a court order blocking the impeachment trial.

The day before the Socialist Workers Party news conference, the Georgia Supreme Court ruled that the city council must proceed with its impeachment trial.

Eagan testified July 25 before the city council's Public Safety Committee to demand that the council restrain the police from conducting political surveillance against the SWP and all other political groups and individuals. The occasion was a police request for \$137,000 in Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) funds for the police Intelligence Division. The council had previously tabled the request after the Voice's spy incident.

The Atlanta Constitution had run editorials urging the council to be "reasonable" and approve the funds. Mayor Maynard Jackson's chief aide, Jule Sugarman, said the mayor had been "surprised" by the council's tabling action. Sugarman labeled the police request "routine." During the public safety meeting, liberal Democratic councilman Charles Helms asked Captain Frank Echols, head of the Intelligence Division, whether "the police are involved in political espionage." "No," came the reply from Echols.

"Before we vote approval of these funds," committee chairman Carl Ware then said, "let's hear from the Socialist Workers Party."

"Captain Echols is not telling the truth," Eagan responded. "We have adequate documentation, including Echols's own admission that the Civil



Joel Aber; Vince Eagan, SWP gubernatorial candidate; Anne Teesdale, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor, at city hall news conference.

Disturbance section of his Intelligence Division keeps 'tabs' on 'radicals' and 'subversives.' This admission appeared in the July 15 Atlanta Constitution.

Eagan demanded that the council committee not only open the secret police files on the socialists but also take the following actions:

- "Deny the police any funds for 'intelligence,' including the request for the \$137,000 in LEAA money.

- "Do all in your power, including the drafting of an ordinance, to prohibit the police from spying on us or any other political organizations or individuals, and to prohibit the maintenance of files, secret or otherwise, on the politics and personal lives of citizens.

- "Issue a statement supporting the democratic right of the Socialist Workers Party to function free of police surveillance and intimidation.

- "Abolish the Intelligence Division and the Civil Disturbances unit.

"As long as these actions are not taken, the right of dissent cannot be

guaranteed. An attack on the democratic rights of a legal political body in Georgia is an attack on the democratic rights of all citizens to support and vote for the party of their choice, free from police intimidation," Eagan continued.

"If you support the democratic right of dissent, if you carry out your duty as elected officials in Atlanta to uphold the freedom of association guaranteed by the U. S. Constitution, then you must take action to preserve our civil liberties," Eagan concluded.

Councilman James Bond, brother of Black Democratic state legislator Julian Bond, told Eagan, "If the police engage in political spying, they are violating the provisions of this grant, which is just for intelligence against organized crime."

Councilman Helms disagreed, saying the grant did not specifically exclude political surveillance.

While professing concern for political rights, the council committee nevertheless voted to approve the grant.

## How revolutionary socialists have

Fourth of a series

By LARRY SEIGLE

The profound mass revulsion against the wholesale government corruption and sweeping violations of democratic rights revealed by Watergate has added an important new element to the process of radicalization that has been going on over the past decade. This new situation has opened up exciting opportunities for revolutionary socialists in the United States.

In three previous articles we discussed the analysis developed by the Trotskyist movement—the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance—of the Watergate events. In this article we will look at the action the YSA and the SWP have taken in response to Watergate.

Earlier, we saw that in order to understand the roots of Watergate we have to "de-Nixonize" it. It is necessary to view the scandal not just in terms of Nixon's crimes, but in the context of the worldwide economic and military problems the U.S. ruling class faces, and its political problem of trying to restore badly shaken confidence in the institutions of capitalist rule.

It is equally necessary to "de-Nixonize" Watergate in order to see clearly where the objective interests of the masses of American people lie in the debate over what should be done to put a halt to the Watergate crimes. Despite all the inflated rhetoric of the impeachment hearings, the real issues Watergate poses for the working class do not revolve around whether or not Richard Nixon is removed from office by vote of his "honorable" colleagues in Congress or by their pressure for him to resign.

### The real issues

One of the important questions raised by Watergate is the need to protect the democratic rights of the American people against the continual attempts of the capitalist government to restrict or to abrogate those rights.

Intimately connected with this question is the broader one of what class should rule in this country.

The capitalist politicians, now falling all over themselves in the rush to dissociate themselves from their discredited president, are trying to convince the American people that the crimes laid bare by the Watergate disclosures are deviations from "normal" and "constitutional" government functioning.

And the bourgeois moralists are claiming that impeaching Nixon will serve as a warning that his successors won't be able to ignore. "There is little danger," writes *New York Times* columnist James Reston, "that we will have another White House gang like this one and it is probably no great danger to the Republic to establish the precedent of getting rid of them if we do."

These arguments are designed to coverup the fact that the corruption, the lies, the secrecy, and the violations of democratic rights revealed by Watergate are essential to the rule of declining American capitalism. The next White House gang—whether it is the Ford gang, or the Kennedy gang, or some other gang—will have no choice but to use exactly the same methods in the service of the capitalist class.

The question Watergate raises for the working people of the United States is nothing less than how to go about building a movement that can remove that class from power.



SWP candidate Sherry Smith confronts Houston mayor on issue of police spying.



Atlanta socialists have been active in campaign to end police terror in Black community

Flowing from this perspective, the strategy of the SWP and the YSA has been to carry out a dual campaign to take advantage of the opportunities presented by Watergate.

One side of this campaign is aimed at mobilizing support for the protection and extension of the democratic rights of the American people—the right to privacy, and the right to organize, speak out, and oppose the ruling class's policies without interference by the government.

The second side of the socialists' response is an aggressive and broad campaign of education and action, aimed at popularizing socialist ideas and promoting political action by working people, and by Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, independently of the needs and plans of any wing of the capitalist parties or their various politicians. The central vehicles for this effort are the SWP election campaigns now underway in states across the country.

Let's look briefly at both of these campaigns.

### Fight for democratic rights

Watergate has dealt a heavy blow to the rulers' self-serving and hypocritical "law and order" rhetoric. The capitalist class has been set back in its never-ending drive to chip away at the democratic rights the American people have won through two centuries of determined struggle.

Millions of Americans have learned of the widespread violations of the Bill of Rights carried out by the FBI, the CIA, and the White House "plumbers." Government frame-ups have been repeatedly exposed, from the Pentagon papers case in Los Angeles to the trial of antiwar Vietnam veterans in Gainesville, Fla.

The "revolt of the juries" has led to rebuffs to government prosecutors in political trials from coast to coast. Anticommunism and national security are seen by millions as phony arguments used to justify government repression of dissenters.

This new situation has made it possible for revolutionists to take the offensive in the fight for democratic liberties and to win victories at the expense of witch-hunting laws and secret-police practices.

One aspect of the socialists' fight for democratic rights is getting the truth out about who the real targets are of the rulers' repressive arsenal. The capitalist newspapers have devoted page after page to printing in voluminous detail the facts on Nixon's conspiracy to cover up the Watergate break-in. But they have virtually ignored the use of these same methods—and worse—against the unions, civil rights and Black nationalist groups, the antiwar movement, and socialist organizations.

### Exposing COINTELPRO

One example of the success of the SWP and YSA in breaking through this cover-up has been the response to *The Militant's* coverage of the FBI's COINTELPRO ("Counterintelligence programs") directed at the Black community. The factual information on this secret plot and the analysis of its significance published in *The Militant* have been widely reproduced by other newspapers in the

Black community, and used by Black leaders in the fight to halt government attacks.

And many Blacks have become convinced of the timeliness of the SWP's call for a new investigation into the deaths of Black leaders—including Malcolm X, Fred Hampton, and Martin Luther King—to be carried out not by some government agency, but by an independent commission of inquiry responsible to the Black community.

In cities such as Atlanta, Houston, and Minneapolis, the SWP and the YSA have helped initiate coalitions to force to light the truth about local police complicity in illegal surveillance and political harassment.

Another example of the fight for democratic rights being waged by the socialist movement is the utilization of a comprehensive lawsuit filed by the SWP and the YSA. This suit, which names Nixon and other government officials as defendants, demands a halt to government spying, "disruption" programs, and other measures aimed at intimidating socialists and those interested in learning more about socialism.

### Political Rights Defense Fund

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), initiated to mobilize support for the civil liberties issues raised by this suit, has succeeded in winning endorsements from a number of union locals and leaders of the labor movement, from other victims of government Watergating in the socialist, Black, and Chicano movements, from prominent intellectuals and academic figures, and from a number of political groups and politicians.

The PRDF has retained as chief attorney in the case Leonard Boudin, prominent constitutional attorney who was himself the target of a vicious White House smear attempt because of his role in defending White House enemies, among them Daniel Ellsberg.

Using this suit, which is still pending in the courts, as a starting point, the SWP and YSA have been able to unearth additional top-secret documents proving the government's systematic attempts to disrupt the socialist groups. They have helped to focus attention on the crimes committed against radicals—crimes that the sanctimonious capitalist politicians, despite their professed concern for constitutional liberties, would prefer to ignore, since they fully intend to continue to carry them out.

The campaign around this suit has provided an example of how to take advantage of every opening to fight against attacks on democratic rights and how to build a united defense of those rights. And it has driven home the lesson of not depending on the capitalist politicians, but on independent action, to protect the rights of the American people.

Through this initiative, the SWP and YSA have won growing authority and respect as front-line fighters for democratic rights. Supporters of this effort, from activists in the Black community to the heads of major trade unions, understand that this battle involves their own liberties as well as



# responded to W'gate opportunities

those of the socialist movement, and they respect and admire the way the fight is being conducted.

## Capitalist 'democracy'

The socialist strategy in defense of democratic rights is based on an understanding of the fact that "American democracy," with its popular elections, bourgeois constitution, and formal guarantees of civil liberties, is in its essence a form of class dictatorship of capital. The interests of the masses of people lie not in preserving this class dictatorship, but in replacing it with a government of the majority, the working class, that could reorganize society on a socialist basis.

Bourgeois democratic revolutions, such as the first American revolution, which led to independence of the colonies and the adoption of the U. S. Constitution, held out the promise of democratic rights for everyone. But in reality, democratic capitalist regimes continually violate these rights. So long as the state serves the interests of the tiny minority of exploiters, it cannot function in any other way than by fundamentally undemocratic means.

The Watergate revelations show not that Nixon abandoned the essential forms of capitalist democracy, but show the true face and direction of evolution of capitalist democracy itself.

Democratic capitalism in the U. S. cannot survive without lying about its true motives and methods of rule. It must protect the "right" of a handful of rulers to decide the fateful questions of war and peace in secret, denying the millions whose lives may be sacrificed any say in those decisions, just as it must protect business secrets and the "right" of bosses to exploit workers. Hiding the true profit figures and financial manipulations of the capitalists is as crucial to the system as is hiding its real foreign policy aims behind the cloak of secret diplomacy.

Democratic capitalism can allow no democratic discussion or vote on the use of its repressive apparatus—from killer-cops in the ghettos to spying secret-police agents—against those who actively oppose its policies.

And it has no alternative but to keep even its own vast military and administrative bureaucracy under surveillance. It is driven by the fear that one of its own bureaucrats who believes that even other branches of the capitalist government have the right to know the truth about what is being done, will blow the lid off some new secret operation. And when someone turns against it, as Daniel Ellsberg did, the government will have no choice but to vilify and persecute the offender.

In every sphere, the rulers must protect their prerogative of deciding all major questions of policy behind the backs of those they exploit, oppress, and prepare to use as cannon fodder.

## Upholding 'executive privilege'

Even the recent Supreme Court decision ordering Nixon to turn over the White House tapes, far from protecting the right of the American people to know the truth, actually ratified the denial of that right. The Court endorsed for the first time the idea of "executive privilege." As former Nixon speechwriter William Safire wrote in the *New York Times* about the Supreme Court opinion, "Future Presidents, with the ghost of Mr. Nixon nodding approvingly over their shoulders, will take the



Militant/Flax Hermes

Attorney Leonard Boudin (center) and SWP 1972 presidential and vice-presidential candidates Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley announce suit against government Watergating.



Krystyna Newman

Bombed-out headquarters of Black Panther Party in Des Moines. The Militant has been in the lead of those exposing FBI's COINTELPRO 'disruption' plot.

Court's decision to mean that a 'need to protect military, diplomatic or sensitive national security secrets' gives the Chief Executive the privilege of withholding anything—anything—from even the in camera inspection of a Federal judge."

By projecting the answer to Watergate as the need to preserve the constitutional system of checks and balances among *their* institutions of rule—the Congress, the courts, and the executive branch—upholders of the capitalist order are trying to restore shattered confidence.

Revolutionists counterpose to this view the need to fight for democratic rights against all attacks—from whichever branch of government they originate—and the need to replace capitalist "democracy" and its exploitation, war, and racism, with a truly democratic, socialist society.

## Campaigning for socialism

Watergate has highlighted the need for working people to break from the policy of supporting the capitalist parties and politicians. It has brought into focus the incapacity of the capitalist system to represent the interests of the majority of people. And the debate around the removal of the president has willy-nilly raised the question of what class alternative exists to the continued misrule of capital.

To take advantage of this situation, the SWP and YSA have stepped up their socialist educational campaign, including expanding the distribution of socialist literature, such as *The Militant*, and the use of socialist election campaigns throughout the country.

In their scope and impact, these SWP election campaigns far surpass any similar socialist electoral activity in this country in decades. They provide a model of revolutionists making use of every opportunity to bring the program and ideas of socialism to masses of people.

These socialist election campaigns symbolize the need for a mass workers party that will fight to boot out of power the Republican-Democratic partnership and the ruling class these parties serve. The candidates of the SWP offer an alternative to the policy of continued reliance on these parties, and they provide a concrete example of independent working-class political action.

The revelations of the degree of control by the giant corporations of the Democrats and Republicans help demonstrate the self-defeating character of any policy that subordinates independent struggles to support for capitalist politicians.

Watergate has increased the number of people open to understanding that it is utopian to rely on the capitalist government and the capitalist parties to protect the interests of the majority of Americans. In this new political atmosphere, revolutionary socialists can get a hearing for their views on a broad range of issues from a significant, and growing, sector of the population.

The SWP candidates have presented the socialist perspective to literally millions of people, taking advantage of radio, TV, and newspaper interviews;

speeches to union meetings, Black groups, and other organizations; and appearances at street rallies, at strike picket lines, at demonstrations, and everywhere else political struggles are underway.

The socialist election campaigns have been a central weapon in a broad effort to disseminate as widely as possible basic socialist ideas about what Watergate reveals: the reality of bourgeois "democracy" and class oppression. The goal of this educational campaign has been to reach out to leftward-moving forces who have been deeply affected by Watergate, inflation, and other problems, and present to them the ideas of Marxism in a concrete and popular way.

These campaigns complement the other areas of activity in which revolutionists are involved, including strikes and strike-support actions, community mobilizations against police terror in the Black community, the fight against racism in education, like the one now going on in New York's school District 1, and other struggles. The candidates of the SWP are active in these struggles, and their campaigns generalize the approach of relying on the independent power of the oppressed, rather than on the politicians of the capitalist parties.

This kind of basic socialist education, or *propaganda*, is an essential task for revolutionists in the U. S. today, where the great majority of people are unfamiliar with what socialists stand for, but are becoming more and more open to radical proposals and ideas.

The Trotskyist movement is the only radical tendency to approach the opportunities presented by Watergate in this manner. Other currents in the left have presented completely different analyses, and have adopted different strategies for dealing with the situation. In a future article, we will look at how these groups have responded to Watergate.

## Socialist view on Watergate

**WATERGATE AND THE MYTH OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY** by Les Evans and Allen Myers. 208 pp. \$9, paper, \$2.45.

**WATERGATE: THE VIEW FROM THE LEFT.** Anthology with an introduction by Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. 96 pp. \$5, paper, \$1.25.

**THE WATERGATE CONSPIRACY: WHAT IT REVEALS ABOUT AMERICAN CAPITALIST SOCIETY** by Allen Myers, Peter Seidman, and Barry Sheppard. 25 cents.

Order from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: (212) 741-0690.

# Greeks angry at U.S. backing for junta

By DAVID RUSSELL

Two weeks after the fall of the Greek military dictatorship it is clear that the hatred of the Greek people for the torturers of the junta is matched by their bitterness against its backers in Washington, who ensured its survival for seven years.

"The United States, at this moment, is truly unpopular among Greeks of right, left and center," laments C.L. Sulzberger in the Aug. 7 *New York*

**The Militant has received word that among 44 political prisoners released from the Gyros Island concentration camp were two Trotskyists, J. Felekis and Sofronis Papadopoulos. On July 26 an additional 80 political prisoners were released. However, seven political prisoners who were tried during the 1946-49 civil war for 'espionage' are still in prison. They were tried under law 375, which describes as espionage membership in or aid given to any communist organization.**

*Times*. "It will require considerable effort to correct this."

The Nixon administration has responded to this situation by leaking the information that it will assign a new ambassador, one less publicly identified with the junta, to Athens. In addition, David Binder reported in the Aug. 2 *New York Times*, "The

Central Intelligence Agency has reportedly been instructed by top officials of the Nixon Administration not to interfere in the internal affairs of Greece. . . ."

Binder quoted an unidentified "specialist on Greece" who told him the CIA "had close contact not only with George Papadopoulos, the Greek colonel who led the 1967 coup, but also with his successor, Brig. Gen. Demetrios Ioannides."

Binder's informant also listed some of the CIA operatives in Greece and their fronts, and described how the CIA had worked to topple the left-leaning government of George Papandreou in 1965.

The claim that the CIA has been ordered to keep out of Greek politics is calculated to bolster the aura of independence around the regime of Premier Constantine Caramanlis, but the admission of past CIA involvement raises additional questions. If the CIA was so close to the Greek junta, did it advise it to move against Makarios in Cyprus—a man who was regarded by Nixon as "the Castro of the Mediterranean"?

Did the CIA advise the recall of Caramanlis from exile, and is it advising his government now? Certainly an affirmative answer to these questions would be much more believable than the claim that the CIA has really stopped its intervention in the politics of other countries, Greece included.

As for the Caramanlis regime, it continues to walk a tightrope, balancing between the demands of the masses and its fear of a popular up-

surge that could escape its control.

Caramanlis has announced the restoration of the 1952 constitution and has promised parliamentary elections. However, he has refused to rescind the declaration of martial law announced when Greek troops were mobilized during the crisis in Cyprus.

His government continues to rule by decree, and Caramanlis has yet to set a date for the promised elections. While political prisoners have been released, the Communist Party remains illegal.

How far and how fast Caramanlis will go in carrying out the promised return to democracy depends on the amount of pressure generated by the Greek workers. An indication of this was given in the Aug. 2 *New York*

*Times*.

"Caution has been the keynote of the Caramanlis leadership since the military handed over power to civilians last week," wrote *Times* reporter Steven Roberts. "The new Government has tried to avoid offending the military, but, at the same time to satisfy a growing public demand for retribution against the former dictators. . . ."

"It is an open question how long the Government can continue its policy of caution. The mood of at least some segments of public opinion was reflected tonight in a reporter's question to Mr. Lambrias [a government official]: 'Why are the criminals not in jail? Does the Government plan to arrest them?'"



U.S. arms and CIA aid helped maintain Greek junta in power

# Will Portugal free its African colonies?

By BAXTER SMITH

AUG. 6—UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim announced it to the world Aug. 4.

Thirty thousand cheering Blacks greeted it the same day in Lourenço Marques, the Mozambique capital, by waving Frelimo flags and chanting pro-Frelimo slogans.

*Time* magazine attributed it to "rebel attacks [that] became increasingly strong and dispirited Portuguese troops [who] in some cases refused to fight any longer."

The news was simple, but long awaited: Portugal had said it was ready to recognize Guinea-Bissau as an independent nation and to support its entry into the United Nations, and Portugal said it was planning similar steps for Angola and Mozambique.

Waldheim made the announcement following two days of talks with Portuguese leaders that also witnessed a

general clampdown on press freedom in Portugal after newspaper reportage on a Lisbon demonstration demanding freedom for the colonies.

The announcement came a week after Portuguese President António de Spínola's speech claiming: "We are ready from this moment to initiate the transfer of power to the peoples of the overseas territories considered suitable for this development, namely Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique."

Luis Cabral, a leader of the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands), hailed Spínola's speech, according to the July 31 *Le Monde*.

No exact dates, however, have been given for the turnover of power. Portuguese officials say they must first work out a formal agreement with the PAIGC. One high Portuguese government official told a *New York Times* reporter:

"We cannot merely recognize Guinea's independence unilaterally and pull out our troops—there would be chaos."

A report in the Aug. 12 *Newsweek* says that "Mozambique will be fully independent by next April. . . . The path to independence for Angola may be longer—two to four years. Whether Portugal can hold on that long, however, remains open to question."

Talks between leaders of the PAIGC and Portuguese officials in Lisbon Aug. 2-3 apparently concluded that independence for the Cape Verde Islands, which the PAIGC says it represents, would not be granted at the time of Guinea-Bissau's. A demonstration of Guineans and Cape Verdians in Lisbon outside Waldheim's hotel Aug. 3 protested this possibility.

In addition, neither Spínola nor Waldheim indicated that Portugal would free its other colonies, despite

Waldheim's comment that Portugal has now pledged "full cooperation" to the UN charter on decolonization.

Other Portuguese colonies include the islands of São Tomé, Príncipe, Madeira, and the Azores (in the Atlantic Ocean off the coast of Africa). Also there are Macao and Timor, in the Far East, and Cabinda, an enclave north of Angola proper.

Before leaving Portugal, Waldheim said that Lisbon "will take immediate steps to enter into negotiations with the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) with a view toward accelerating the process of independence for that territory."

However, the presence of several hundred thousand white settlers in Mozambique and Angola, coupled with Mozambique's strategic location and Angola's sheer wealth, has aroused speculation that Portugal is opting for coalition regimes there, involving whites, rather than allow the liberation forces to take full power.

In the meantime, an informal ceasefire has taken hold in Mozambique, much like the one that began in Guinea-Bissau several weeks ago. Some fraternization between Frelimo militants and Portuguese troops has been reported, along with defections from the Portuguese side.

One dispatch in the July 30 *Christian Science Monitor* told of a Frelimo group that was feted by demonstrators anticipating independence. The rebels, the report recalls, were "chauffered into the city by whites."

An article in the *New York Times* tells of a Frelimo officer who was dined by the administrator of the town of Vila Gouvei, during which he reportedly demanded the disarming of the Black militia that guards the concentration-camp-type villages, the *aldeamentos*. He also demanded that the *aldeamentos* be transformed into open villages and the inhabitants be

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## Boston, D.C. pickets: 'Portugal out now!'



Militant/Robb Wright

In many U.S. cities, a TAP airlines office is the only facility associated with the Portuguese government. In Boston and Washington, D.C., picket lines were held there recently to demand immediate independence for Portugal's African colonies and an end to U.S. complicity with Portuguese colonialism.

The rush-hour protest in Boston Aug. 1 was sponsored by the PAIGC National Support Committee (NSC), the Portuguese Committee for Democratic Action, the Socialist Workers Party, New American Movement, Middle East Research and Information Project, Young Socialist Alliance, and other groups.

Protestors also came from the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization and

from the Southern Africa Committee.

Buddy Andrade of the NSC told the crowd, "Don't trust Spínola. Independence has not been granted to Cape Verde." He told the students present: "Go back to your campuses in the fall and tell the truth about what is happening; build actions on the campuses."

Among those supporting the Aug. 2 picket in Washington were the Black People's Union at George Washington University; Organization of Concerned West Indian Students; Commission for Racial Justice; Herb Quinn, metro director of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees District 1199; University of Maryland Black Student Union; Young Socialist Alliance; and Reverend David Eaton of All Souls Church.



## 1,000 rally in Tokyo

# Asian youth hit South Korean repression

By CAROLINE LUND

TOKYO — About 1,000 Japanese youth gathered at a rally here July 28 and approved a call for international demonstrations and other forms of protest in September to demand freedom for the political prisoners held by the Park Chung Hee dictatorship in South Korea.

The rally was the climax of a four-day Asian Youth Conference. The conference was initiated by three Japanese groups—the Vietnam-Indochina Solidarity Committee, the women's liberation journal *Women's Bulletin*, and the Youth Congress for the Release of the Soh Brothers (the two Soh brothers are political prisoners in South Korea). It was also supported by the Japan Revolutionary Communist League, Japanese section of the Fourth International.

The aim of the Asian Youth Conference is to develop solidarity and united action by Japanese youth and women's groups with Asian youth and women in the countries oppressed by Japanese imperialism.

Leaders of the sponsoring organizations said they had been inspired to organize the conference especially as a result of the demonstrations that "greeted" Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka at each of the stops on his recent tour of Thailand, Indonesia, and Malaysia.

The conference was attended by about 80 delegates. International representatives participating included delegates from organizations of Koreans living in Japan; delegates from the Hong Kong student movement and anti-inflation movement; and a representative of the Indian immigrant community in London. Also participating as observers were Pierre Rousset of the Indochina Solidarity Front (FSI) in France, Dominique Palad of the French MLF (Women's Liberation Movement), and this reporter, who brought greetings as a participant in the U.S. antiwar movement.

Other Japanese participants included participants in the Buraku Liberation League (the Buraku people are oppressed in Japan much as Black people in the United States, stemming from their position as the lowest caste in the old feudal social hierarchy); representatives from the antimilitarist movement of soldiers inside the Japan-



Johnny Shum Kin Fun (center), of Hong Kong Workers Commission, speaking to delegates at Asian Youth Conference.

ese army (the so-called Self Defense Forces); and the Japanese antiwar group Beheiren. Also there were activists from the Japanese Amnesty International; a women's liberation group called New Horizon; and several journalists who had traveled through Asia and described the miserable conditions young Asian women face in the sweatshops of Japanese and U.S. corporations in Thailand, Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines.

Especially inspiring was the participation of leaders of the Sanrizuka Peasant League. The Sanrizuka peasants, numbering about 200, have been waging a struggle for eight years against the construction of a new international airport on their lands about 50 miles northeast of Tokyo.

Because of the peasants' determination, this struggle, which began simply as a refusal to be evicted from their land, grew into a major, continuing confrontation between the peasants and the government. As the struggle continued, it became also a protest against the Vietnam war (since the U.S. planned to use the new airport for military purposes) and also against the massive pollution that would engulf the area from the new airport.

The Sanrizuka peasant struggle has

become a rallying point for the radicalized youth in Japan, and the old peasant who brought solidarity greetings to the Asian Youth Conference and to the rally on the 28th was received with special enthusiasm.

What emerged from conference reports and discussion was the interrelationship of the many different struggles that have arisen against both Japanese and American imperialism as Tokyo has taken over more of the counterrevolutionary functions previously fulfilled by Washington. Workers' struggles, struggles by women, student struggles, struggles against imperialist domination, struggles against political repression, antipollution struggles, and the antidiscrimination fight of both the Buraku people and Korean people in Japan are all interlinked.

One example of this interrelationship is the struggle that has arisen against tourist companies that arrange for Japanese men to visit prostitutes (Kesan, in Korean) in South Korea. Many South Korean women are driven to prostitution because of the abysmally low wages they receive in the mainly Japanese-owned factories. (One journalist at the conference reported that the average wage for women workers in South Korea is only 250 yen, or less than \$1 a

day, with working days of 12-16 hours).

The struggle against Kesan tourism, as it is referred to here, was initiated by students from the women's university in Seoul as part of the South Korean student upsurge last fall. Their struggle was then taken up by women's groups in Japan, who are also pointing out the relationship of this degradation of South Korean women to the discrimination faced by Koreans who live in Japan.

The main issue seen by conference participants as an emergency priority was the necessity of organizing broad protest actions to defend the students, workers, and intellectuals who are presently facing frame-up trials, torture, and even death sentences in South Korea. At the mass rally on the 28th, the one slogan that rang out again and again was "Free Kim Chi Ha!" (the famous Korean poet sentenced to life imprisonment).

On the third day of the conference, delegates held a demonstration at the South Korean embassy in Tokyo, carrying signs in French, Chinese, English, Japanese, and Punjabi, demanding release of the political prisoners. They were joined by about 100 Japanese students and young workers.

Embassy representatives refused to receive the protest statement from the international delegation, and scores of Japanese riot police surrounded the demonstrators and confined them with their huge metal shields to a narrow sidewalk across from the embassy.

Finally the police permitted two representatives of the conference to deliver the statement to an embassy guard.

The Asian Youth Conference was pervaded by the spirit of internationalism. During the coming year leaders of the conference hope to develop broader contact and coordination between youth of Japan, Korea, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, Hong Kong, and the Philippines in the course of building common actions on the questions of political prisoners in Asia, the struggle against Kesan tourism and other women's struggles, and struggles against Japanese and U.S. military occupation and economic exploitation.

Delegates decided to build a second Asian Youth Conference next year to consolidate further these ties of solidarity and joint action.

# Vietnam war continues, fighting escalates

By DICK ROBERTS

Reports from Saigon indicate that the heaviest fighting since the signing of the Paris accords 18 months ago is now taking place in South Vietnam. There is strict censorship. Major newspapers such as *Le Monde* and the *New York Times* do not have reporters on the battle scene.

Based on Saigon government reports, the Thieu regime has committed most of its 12,000-man 18th Division to a battle area 25 miles north of Saigon. "The Government has suffered at least 2,600 casualties in the fighting, according to reliable sources, including at least 500 dead," says *Times* Saigon correspondent James Markham.

Markham continues, "The South Vietnamese have lost at least 44 pieces of armor—14 M-48 and M-41 tanks and the rest armored personnel carriers. At least five fighter-bombers and two helicopters have been downed by intensive antiaircraft fire."

This is a big battle, with heavy

casualties and lots of hardware engaged, for a war that is not supposed to be taking place.

Associated Press also reports from DaNang that 10 Saigon positions were taken Aug. 4 in "part of a continuing drive by North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces against Government outposts along the coast south of DaNang, the country's second largest city."

Washington's current censorship is reminiscent of the hush-hush days of the U.S. counter guerrilla warfare during the Kennedy administration. Graham Martin, the U.S. ambassador to South Vietnam, has even gone so far as to criticize articles in the American press for indirectly "helping the Communist cause."

Martin testified before a Senate committee July 25 to urge them to pass a \$750-million economic aid program for the Saigon regime. Martin "said he was giving his sincere and honest opinion that the chances were good that South Vietnam could survive if

the aid level was high enough over the next few years," the *Times* reported.

Martin also actually told the senators that the U.S. embassy had carefully examined the Saigon prison system and "found no one in prison" who could be regarded as a political prisoner. This man has a real future in Washington politics!

On July 30 the U.S. Senate did pass and send to the White House the fiscal year 1975 military appropriations bill including continued heavy funding for the Saigon regime. The issue of the war was briefly alluded to in Senator John Stennis's report on the legislation. There were no objections made and the bill cleared overwhelmingly, 88 to 8.

According to Stennis, "The Defense Department initially requested \$1.6-billion for MASF [Military Assistance Service Fund, the stocks supplied to Saigon] in the 1975 fiscal year. The House voted \$1.126-billion, the same

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THIEU: Gets \$1-billion worth of U.S. military equipment.

## ...real cover-up

Continued from page 1

the ruling class must continue to carry out, regardless of whether the Democrats or the Republicans are in power, and regardless of which capitalist politician is sitting in the Oval Office.

Emerging from an emergency cabinet meeting with Nixon on Aug. 6, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger declared that, regardless of who is president, everyone should understand that the nation's foreign policy will continue to be both "bipartisan" and in the "national interest." In other words, there will not be one bit of change in Washington's imperialist operations around the globe.

It will continue to rely on secret diplomacy to conceal its counterrevolutionary deals with other capitals. It will continue to increase its nuclear missiles and bombers, its armies and its naval fleets, throughout the world. It will keep its CIA in operation to hunt down leaders of the oppressed and to overthrow governments that threaten to infringe upon the profits of the giant corporations.

This is the reality of the "bipartisan" foreign policy of the United States.

In getting rid of Nixon, the rulers are not relinquishing a single one of the prerogatives of capitalist rule.

They are reaffirming their "right" to decide the questions of war and peace behind the backs of the American people.

They are not giving up their "right" to produce only as much food as is profitable, while tens of millions throughout the world face starvation.

They do not intend to give up their "right" to keep the true facts on their swollen profits and other "business secrets" from the working people of this country.

They do not intend to give up their "right" to suppress dissent in the name of "national security," and to hide the truth about their undemocratic methods of rule behind the twin cloaks of "executive privilege" and "checks and balances."

But what is the alternative to the continued rule by the Nixons, the Fords, the Kennedys, or any of the other wretched politicians who are the hirelings of the capitalist class? This is the question that confronts working people today.

To put an end to the policies of the *bipartisan* gang who make up the Democratic and Republican parties, working people need to mobilize their power independently of these parties and in opposition to these politicians.

They must break from the policy of supporting the capitalist parties and subordinating their needs to these two parties. Only by relying on the independent power of the working masses and all of the oppressed, mobilized and organized to fight in their own interests, can the prerogatives of the capitalist rulers be successfully challenged.

This is the perspective that guides the Socialist Workers Party and its candidates for office across the country. These candidates are campaigning to tell the truth about the new cover-up operation now going on in Washington. These socialist campaigners are standing as an alternative to continued reliance on the fakers of the capitalist parties.

Against the capitalists' assertion that the capitalist government—be it the White House or the Congress—should have the power to go to war over the opposition of the people, the SWP demands: Let the people vote on war!

Against the capitalists' closed-door diplomatic maneuverings and nuclear brinkmanship, the SWP demands: No secret diplomacy!

Against the rulers' insistence on their right to keep secret their profits and their financial operations, including their bribes and payoffs to politicians and government officials, the SWP demands: Open the books of the corporations!

Against the bipartisan economic policies of wage restraints and attempts to drive down the living standards of the American working people through inflation and unemployment, the SWP demands: Guaranteed cost-of-living escalator clauses for all workers to protect against inflation! Shorten the work-week at no loss in pay to provide jobs for all!

Against the Democrats' and Republicans' complicity in keeping hidden the documents about illegal spying and infiltration of Black organizations, socialist groups, and other opponents of government policies, the SWP demands: Publish all the secret documents!

Against the rulers' claimed right to suspend the Bill of Rights whenever "national security" is threatened, the SWP demands: Halt all the violations of democratic rights!

Against the continued rule of the capitalist class, the SWP calls for a workers government, a government that could reorganize society on a socialist basis and put an end to the capitalist system, with its wars, its racism, and its class exploitation.

To advance this perspective, support the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in '74!

### Pot of stew

I have been a socialist in theory and practice for about six years now. I have only made one serious mistake in my life. I made that mistake two years ago when I joined the U. S. Navy out of boredom.

In trying to spread socialist ideas in the Navy I have run up against strong and even violent objections to my beliefs.

The U. S. bureaucratic systems are like a pot of stew. When you are first thrown into this stew you sink to the bottom. Then slowly, as time passes and your mind and body deteriorate, you begin to rise to the surface. Then you are skimmed off and ejected from the pot.

A navyman  
New York

### Antibusing Democrats

This year's election campaign in Michigan should dispel any illusions that the Democratic Party takes a progressive stand on civil rights.

Racist, antibusing demagoguery has become the hallmark of virtually all capitalist politicians here. For instance, all three contenders for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination oppose the Roth plan to desegregate Detroit public schools—not on the grounds that it is the right of the Black community, not the courts, to decide the question, but on the basis of preserving the "integrity" of all-white neighborhood schools in the suburbs.

In the suburban 18th C.D., the issue among the Democratic candidates is who can take the most credit for the recent Supreme Court decision to overturn the Roth plan.

Perhaps the most honest among the scoundrels was Monte Gerald, Democratic candidate for State Representative in the 66th District. The day after the Supreme Court decision, Gerald was quoted by the local press as congratulating himself for the sound tactical advice he gave the antibusing forces.

Gerald had cautioned local school boards not to pass antibusing resolutions and ordinances on the grounds that they could be used as evidence of legal segregation, which had already been declared unconstitutional in the South. In the North, you see, segregation is all right as long as there is an effective cover-up!

T. C.  
Detroit, Mich.

### 'Deserve applause'

I am very glad to renew my subscription to *The Militant*. Your continued excellent analysis of Mideast events and background reports on Portugal and Chile deserve applause.

A prisoner  
New York

### Teachers

Cindy Jaquith's article in the July 19 issue of *The Militant* reporting on the National Education Association (NEA) convention was very good. It did a good job in pointing out the deficiencies of both the NEA and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and explaining what will be necessary for teachers to do to get what they need for themselves and for their students, regardless of their affiliation. It points out to NEA teachers that they and their administrators are not just

"one happy family," but that there are bosses and workers in the "teaching profession" whose interests are opposed, just as in other occupations. And teachers will need to face up to this.

The best part of the article was where Jaquith destroyed the myth that "workers" and teachers must oppose each other for their share of the economic pie. Instead, they must unite with each other and the community against the real culprits in the fight to keep up with inflation and for other needs.

As is the case for many school districts, the situation for St. Louis teachers right now looks mighty grim. They want to give us a flat 5 percent and get rid of our increment scale. Our contract was up in June. The mood of the teachers at the last union meeting in May was extremely militant, and the first meeting in September might be explosive.

Helen Savio  
St. Louis, Mo.

### Wounded Knee articles

Thank you so much for publishing news items about the Native American people. There has been a news blackout in the establishment press concerning the defendants of Wounded Knee. I think it is very significant that the only persons who care enough about the fate of the Indians fighting for survival to tell their story is the socialist press (with the exception of a few underground newspapers).

Jeanne Campbell  
San Diego, Calif.

### Sports page

I really like your paper and as a shop steward it helps me to organize. However, I have a criticism. You need a sports page. Most of the guys at the plant pay a lot of attention to sports. They discuss it constantly on the line. Why not cover sports?

J.J.  
Washington, D. C.

### Impeachment

This afternoon I was watching the impeachment hearings on television. As you know, an article proposed by Democrat John Conyers of Michigan [to impeach Nixon for the illegal bombing of Cambodia] was rejected by the committee. While the other articles are legitimate reasons for removing Tricky Dicky from office, they do not get to the heart of the matter.

The cover-up, as I believe you have pointed out, can be directly traced to this and past administrations' efforts to hide the truth about the Vietnam war from the American people. When people began to voice opposition to this unspeakable havoc, this country's rulers felt no great need to "neutralize" the antiwar movement.

As the opposition to the war picked up and gained more of the public's eye, they felt the need to discredit leaders of the movement, and the movement itself.

I believe that our rulers feared that the people would discover the corruptness of the government and the capitalist exploiters with which it aligns itself. This brings us back to why the committee acted as it did.





## A suggestion for auto workers

The committee could not approve the Cambodia bombing article because that could lead to a discussion, in the full House, of the war's immorality and of the imperialist forces behind it.

I realize that I should not have expected a better performance from our congressmen. However, it would have been refreshing if they had done something as it should have been done.

Gary Davies  
Mt. Pleasant, Mich.

### FCC forum

The Aug. 3 issue of *TV Guide* has an article titled 'Is Dr. Welby Giving Us Good Advice?' The article reports on a public forum held in Atlanta, Ga., by the Federal Communications Commission. The forum was held to give "the public" a chance to complain.

The second paragraph of the article reads, "A short, pert brunette from the Socialist Workers Party complained that 'The media create a monopoly for the Democratic and Republican parties.'"

Later in the article they write, "A young spokeswoman from the Socialist Workers Party, which regularly runs candidates for governor and President, rose to say, 'Small parties with independent campaigns are usually discriminated against, despite the equal-time provision.'"

Although the complaints won't do much to change the FCC, a lot of people will read the article in *TV Guide*, which will help a little in breaking the media "monopoly for the Democratic and Republican parties."

H. D.  
New York, N. Y.

### FBI memos

Please send me three reprints of the March 22 edition of *The Militant* about the FBI memos and COINTELPRO. Thank you, and my appreciation also for your continuing excellent reporting and editorials. How much we need *The Militant*!

M. M.  
Ontario, Canada

[Reprints of material from our March 22, 1974, issue are still available. The reprint includes the article "FBI memos detail government plot to crush Black movement" and the partially censored FBI documents outlining the COINTELPRO operation against Black leaders and groups and socialists.

[Reprints may be ordered from the Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014. (212) 929-3486.

- [4 cents each for 500 or more
- [5 cents each for 100 to 499
- [6 cents each for 50 to 99
- [7 cents each for 10 to 49
- [10 cents each for 9 or less]

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Henry Ford II called a news conference in Dearborn, Mich., on July 30. He announced that the price of Ford cars is going up again, that auto production is down 20 percent, that the Ford Motor Company will cut its capital spending in the United States by more than \$220-million next year, and that he expects better times because this year's overall price inflation of 11 percent should drop to about 8 percent.

These pronouncements from the head of the Ford Motor Company reflect the general downturn of capitalist economy worldwide, the retrenchment of industry, and the hopes in industrial and financial circles that prices will somehow "stabilize" without hurting corporate profits.

Their announced plans and hopes leave out of account the effect of all this on the lives of auto workers and millions of others who face unemployment and are expected to bear the burden of constantly rising prices in order to accommodate and maintain the present high rate of profit.

Ford puts the cause of inflation in the past, charging it to the mistakes of politicians (his very own) who "didn't want to pay for a war nobody wanted and so they didn't raise taxes." He has figured out that "it is the sins of the past that we are paying for today."

If Ford now has ideas that those sins—the years of wanton murder in Vietnam and Cambodia—would have been wiped clean by raising taxes in this country a decade ago, he cannot absolve himself of responsibility even on this spurious count, because he never urged higher taxes and is not now volunteering to pay more. Of course, when he talks about higher taxes he means payroll tax and sales tax and others that are paid mostly by poor people.

Ford claims a profit loss of 57 percent for the second quarter of this year as compared to the same three-month period last year. That sounds as if he may be about to go broke. Far from it. Ford made a fat second-quarter profit of \$167.8-million. His

profits for the first half of this year totaled \$291.4-million.

Car sales are off because workers who need cars to get to work no longer have jobs or are not paid enough in wages to buy the new models. So Ford cuts back production and lays off a few hundred more auto workers.

Ford managed to gain a couple of points on GM and Chrysler. Last year he had 24 percent of the market and now has 26 percent. But overall production is down and the auto corporations have agreed to raise unit prices to keep their profits up.

According to the logic of profit seekers it stands to reason that the price of each car will have to go higher if fewer are made and sold. Ford manufactured fewer than a million units in this country during the second quarter this year, down 16 percent from last year.

This decline in production, combined with high interest rates, has convinced Ford to cut back on plant expansion.

Laid-off workers at Ford factories and those who are out of work in the construction industry will be looking for ways to create jobs, and this means that Ford will need to think about a shorter work-week with no loss in take-home pay because that is what a lot of United Auto Workers members will be demanding.

Maybe Ford will claim "lack of money" and try to use this as an excuse to lay off more workers instead of hiring. This will contribute to the further loss of car sales, and more cutbacks in production. If this process continues and the auto industry as currently run becomes unprofitable for Ford and other corporate mismanagers, there are a lot of better uses that can be made of existing auto plants under workers' management.

These auto plants can easily be converted to production of more and better farm implements and for the manufacture of mass transportation systems that have already been designed. This is just a suggestion for auto workers to consider.

## ¡La Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



## On to Aug. 31 Moratorium!

LOS ANGELES—The Dixon Arnett Bill, a law that would have made it illegal for California employers to "knowingly" hire "illegal aliens," was declared unconstitutional by the California Court of Appeals July 26.

It was the right action, but taken for the wrong reasons.

The Arnett Bill was a reactionary piece of legislation that would have been used to further victimize the undocumented workers. However, the court didn't void the law on the basis of its undemocratic nature. It simply held that only the federal government has the right to make immigration law.

Although the California legislature passed the bill in 1971, it never took effect, since the courts immediately suspended it pending the outcome of an appeal by a group of growers.

The employer opposition came from growers and sweatshop operators opposed to even token legal obstacles to their superexploitation of undocumented workers.

The fact is that the bosses would not have been seriously hampered by the bill. It provided nominal maximum fines of \$500 for employers who knowingly hire undocumented workers. With such a loophole the boss only had to plead ignorance to get off the hook.

But while the Arnett Bill would not have created real difficulties for the employers, it would have intensified the difficulties of the undocumented workers. It would have made them even more vulnerable in their "illegal" status. It would have further restricted them to the worst jobs at the lowest pay. It would have made more difficult their efforts to resist the abuses and injustices they suffer.

Although the Arnett Bill has been laid to rest, the Rodino Bill, a basically similar federal statute, is still pending in Congress. Immigration Service

sources say they are pushing to have the bill passed quickly now to "stem the flood" of undocumented workers.

Bert Corona of the Los Angeles antideportation organization, CASA, has offered some pertinent observations on why such statutes as Arnett and Rodino are a reactionary fraud and should be opposed by all working people.

In an interview published in the Feb. 9, 1973, *Militant*, Corona said:

"The Rodino bill ostensibly seeks to fine employers who employ workers without visas. But the real intent, the hidden motive, and the ominous consequences that all of us know will result are not in the fining of employers.

"That is merely the smokescreen to attract support from many quarters that would otherwise be opposed to this kind of a law. I'm referring specifically to the liberal groups, the liberal establishment, the Democratic Party people who can find some political mileage in such a law."

And, he said, "By supposedly placing this heavy fine on the use of workers without visas. . . it keeps these workers in a situation where they are alienated, marginal and permanently vulnerable to exploitation."

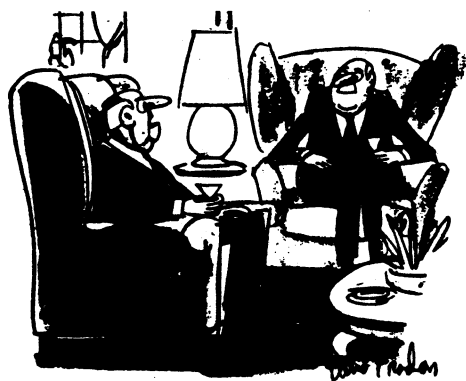
The more vulnerable the undocumented workers become, Corona explained, the more easily they can be pitted against other workers in the unceasing employer drive against wages and conditions.

The threat of the Rodino Bill, and the current hysteria being whipped up against undocumented workers, underscores the importance of building the Aug. 31 antideportation Moratorium in Los Angeles.

A successful demonstration on the 31st will give new momentum to the antideportation movement. And it will help expose such a measure as the Rodino Bill for what it really is: a lethal weapon in the arsenal of the exploiters.



Serving the people—"A question of particularly grave import . . . is the degree to which competition should obtain in an industry recognized throughout most of its history as a natural monopoly. . . . My concern derives from the prospect that such competition will almost certainly harm telephone service and add to the price the average consumer pays for it." — AT&T 1973 annual report.



Plumbers and masons?—John Dean told *Time* magazine he didn't leave the White House sooner because, "I didn't have the guts. My lawyer told me . . .

"If God hadn't wanted there to be poor people, He would have made us rich people more generous."

he was worried that I might find myself in the river with cement blocks tied to my feet."

In an SST?—Watching White House press secretary Ron Ziegler in his new hobbyist role as a biker, one observer commented that he's trying to top Evil Knievel's act. "He's going to try to jump the credibility gap."

Fit to be tied—An administration energy proposal to save on air conditioning by wearing cooler clothes and no neckties struck us as par for the course. (We almost responded, "It ain't the heat, it's the stupidity.") But a

spokesman for the tie industry angrily assailed the proposal, declaring, "There are no tests that we know of relating changes in body temperature to the wearing of a necktie."

This is tender, loving care?—A British maker of chastity belts declined to attribute their demise to current sexual standards. The fact is, he explained, the belts have been most frequently purchased in recent years for such uses as plant holders. If plants are as sensitive as some contend, won't they wilt in such a reactionary surrounding?

## Women In Revolt

### Linda Jenness



## 'Ivory towers' of sexism

Hundreds of academic institutions have been charged with sex discrimination during the past few years. Individual women students, teachers, and professors, as well as various women's organizations, have gone to court demanding that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare enforce the law prohibiting sex discrimination by universities that get federal funds.

One result of these suits has been an accumulation of statistics proving systematic discrimination against women students and teachers. Sexism is no less rampant in the "citadels of learning" than anywhere else.

Here are some of the facts:

- In 1970, there were fewer than half a dozen women among 13,000 district school superintendents.

- At the University of Chicago the first and last woman to teach a political science course was Elizabeth Wallace—appointed in 1892!

- One in eight PhDs is a woman, but at major universities only one in fifty full professors is a woman.

- In 1968, Columbia awarded women 67 percent of its PhDs in French; 44 percent in anthropology; 36 percent in psychology; and 17 percent in philosophy. Not one woman, however, was in-

cluded on these faculties.

- In 1968-69, 163 faculty positions in five disciplines at the University of California at Berkeley were distributed as follows: Men, 163; Women, 0.

Just as abhorrent as the statistics themselves, however, is the reaction of sections of the male academic world to attempts to correct the unjust situation.

The demands of women for affirmative-action plans that would increase the recruitment and promotion of qualified women, have been greeted by some male "scholars" with a barrage of arguments—all of them phony. Leading the pack of opposition is Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers in New York City. He is joined by such people as William McGill, president of Columbia University, and Sidney Hook, professor at New York University.

Their arguments boil down to this: 1) affirmative-action plans will destroy the "merit system," and 2) requiring goals for hiring and promotion of women results in a quota system, which, they claim, is "discrimination in reverse."

In an article titled "The Fight Over University Women" in the *New York Review of Books*, Gertrude Ezorsky exposes both arguments for what

they are: reactionary attempts to maintain the status quo.

Ezorsky points out that, to begin with, *there is no "merit system"* in the academic world. Hiring in the teaching profession is not done on the basis of who is the most qualified, but on the basis of who you know, where you studied, and what strings you can pull.

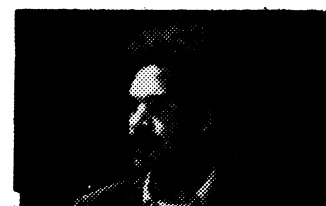
Hiring goals—yes, quotas—are necessary in order to begin to make up for past discrimination and to stop its perpetuation. "Remember," writes Ezorsky, "that the men who expressed contempt for women graduate students are for the most part still around. Is it plausible that they want *women* in their departments?"

The truth of the matter is that it's a little late, after centuries of discrimination and after centuries of a "quota" system that allowed only white males into positions of authority, for Shanker and his crowd to whine about "merit" and "discrimination in reverse."

As Ezorsky points out, preferential hiring wouldn't be needed if "these administrators had seriously been searching for the best candidates all along." And, she adds, "had they followed a merit system, academic women wouldn't have found it necessary to call in the law."

## By Any Means Necessary

### Baxter Smith



## How to treat a problem of school segregation

If you were a liberal federal district judge confronted with the problem of an NAACP suit alleging a particular New York junior high school to be segregated, what would you do?

If you were Judge Jack Weinstein, you'd probably come up with a decision something like: I've given, uh, careful thought to the matter. And in my opinion, ahem, the problem can be traced to, uh, years of segregated housing in the area. Therefore, I hereby order all appropriate city, state, and federal housing authorities to prohibit Blacks from moving into all public housing in the area immediately surrounding the school.

Well, that's probably a bit harsh for the courtroom, so it would have to be couched:

"The history of Mark Twain [junior high school] can be characterized as reflecting neither 'de facto' nor 'de jure' segregation. Rather, it reflects both these characteristics. Demographic trends have been extenuated by government choices. . . .

"Federal complicity in encouraging segregated schooling through its housing programs and policies is as improper under the Fifth Amendment as is that of the state under the 14th."

That was how Judge Weinstein therefore formu-

lated his January decision to alter the housing pattern—which is *one* of the problems contributing to segregated schools—in New York's Coney Island, where Mark Twain junior high school is located.

Keep Blacks out of new public housing in the area, he said. That was the way to change the racial makeup of the school, which had become only 18 percent white, in a predominantly white part of Brooklyn, where the other five junior high schools were still majority white.

Weinstein ordered the plan, which also involves some busing, to take effect by school's reopening in September. Needless to say, the order evoked a hubbub. Weinstein has since eased its implementation until September 1975.

Housing authorities claimed they were "prepared to cooperate" with whatever was required of them. But School Chancellor Irving Anker kicked up a storm. He said the order "is educationally unsound and a disservice to short-term and long-term integration of the school district and the city." Instead, he said a plan dreamed up by Community School Board 21 was better.

That plan would make Mark Twain a school

for "talented and gifted" students with entrance obtained only by application and selection.

Meanwhile, Judge Weinstein appointed a planner to work out details of his order. And the latest news has it that the planner is leaning toward the "talented and gifted" school concept, rather than burden the housing and other affected authorities.

Of course, all of this avoids the issue of Blacks controlling the education of Black students. And to throw in a new bone, the right of New York Blacks to move into Coney Island public housing, if they wish, is now threatened.

Weinstein, so far, hasn't made up his mind, but turning Mark Twain into a school for "talented and gifted" (white) students might be the easiest way out.

Maybe we should go back to the beginning and ask: If you were a liberal federal district judge confronted with the problem of an NAACP suit alleging a particular New York junior high school to be segregated, what would you do?

Well, you could do a little shuffling here, utter a little "talented and gifted students" mumbo-jumbo there, and, poof, it's gone.



The following are major excerpts from a speech by Fred Halstead, entitled "Nixon, My Favorite Enemy." The speech was given in June at the Militant Forum in Houston, Tex. Halstead was a leader of the movement against the Vietnam war and was the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party in 1968.

#### By Fred Halstead

Before I tell you why Nixon is my favorite enemy, let me give you a little background on him.

Nixon made his name in politics in the congressional campaign against Helen Cahagan Douglas, a popular liberal of the 1940s. He made it in the early period of the witch-hunt, by red-baiting. He smelled a little earlier than a lot of other cheap, hustling politicians that the anticommunist hys-

trapped and the Viet Minh were closing in. Vice-president Nixon supported the idea that the atom bomb should be used in an attempt to save the French.

Nixon was also an enthusiastic supporter of the U.S.-sponsored coup in Iran, which overthrew the reform government of Mossadegh and imposed the bloody regime of the shah, because the Mossadegh regime had nationalized all foreign oil interests.

Later, there was the U-2 incident, where the Eisenhower-Nixon administration was caught in a flat lie after a U.S. spy plane was shot down over the Soviet Union. Some say that was the beginning of the "credibility gap."

Nixon was finally elected president in 1968—against me.

Nixon said in that campaign that he had a plan to end the war in Vietnam. It turned out to be the same plan Johnson had been following; namely, to keep bombing and trying

who are getting sucked into insurgency.

But that was just window dressing. There are people who look back on Kennedy's brief term with nostalgia, as Camelot. Who remember it that Kennedy was doing something different. But that's not the way it looked at the time. That's now the way it is described, for example, in the famous Port Huron SDS statement, written by liberal youth in 1962. Camelot, from within, bore little relation to the manufactured legend. It was a mass of hypocritical lying. And they got caught at it—red-handed—sometimes.

Once, for example, was over the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. You might recall that in 1960 the Cuban revolution nationalized major industry, including U.S. holdings. Immediately the U.S. government started a barrage of anticommunist propaganda against Cuba and hardly concealed

They are trying to knock out our air force so they can land with impunity.

#### Adlai's big lie

And Adlai Stevenson—you see, it wouldn't have been nearly so effective if it were a Nixon—got up before the world and the American people and declared that he had been assured by his government that this was simply not true.

What had actually happened, he said he had been told, is that dissident members of the Cuban air force took off from their own airfields and bombed them. Yes, that's what the Kennedy administration told the American people. And since it was mouthed by that beloved, respected liberal, Adlai Stevenson, some people believed it.

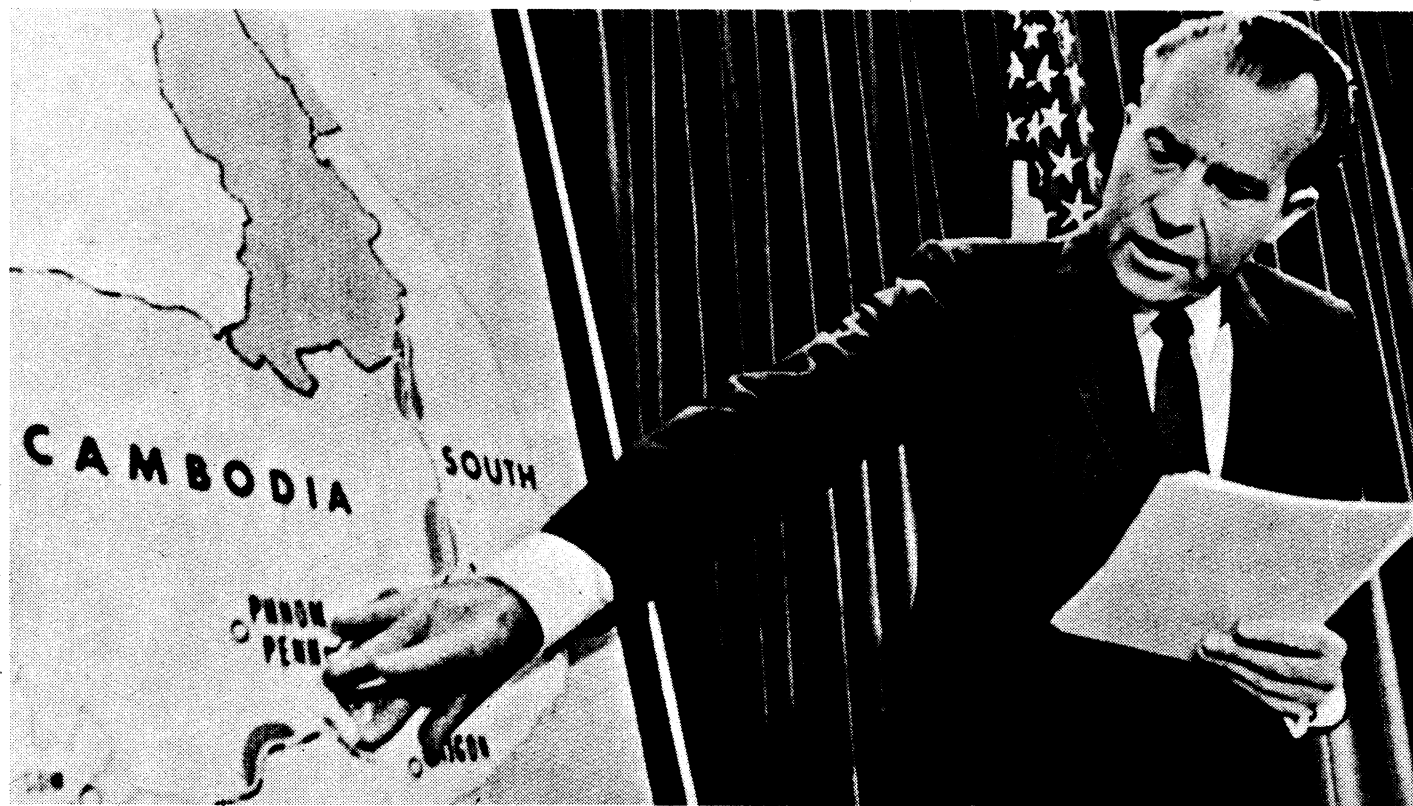
But one of the bombers had some trouble and couldn't make it back to the CIA base in Central America, so it headed for the nearest place—only 90 miles away. It ended up in a Florida commercial airport. And the local reporters ran out there and inspected the plane and tried to interview the pilot, and it turned out it wasn't what Stevenson said it was after all. It was a CIA pilot and a CIA plane. And there was Adlai Stevenson, sitting up in front of the world with egg on his face.

And I, for one, wasn't the least bit sorry for him. I hated his guts for having peddled those lies in the first place. The invasion failed—the landing force was plastered within hours and never had a chance to declare itself a provisional government and call in aid. It failed in essence because the Cuban people sided with the revolution instead of the counterrevolution sponsored and organized by Kennedy.

Kennedy had to admit his responsibility for this affair. And this now comes back to haunt—Nixon. Because the very individuals who broke into Watergate, and into Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office, were veterans of that CIA Bay of Pigs caper.

And that's just one of Kennedy's little contributions to Nixon's current predicament. You see, it isn't just Nixon's personality that is responsible for the fix he's in. Because it's not just Nixon's predicament.

## 'Nixon: my favorite enemy'



teria was a possible road to success in capitalist politics.

And that's how he made it. He was an important figure in the McCarthy-era witch-hunts. He dug up information for the inquisitorial committees.

In 1952 he was elected vice-president, running along with Eisenhower, and during that campaign he got caught in a little confusion between his campaign and personal finances. He stonewalled it, as the saying goes now, with his famous "Checkers" speech. Checkers was his little dog, which he invoked during the speech. He put on this show. They've got a movie of it now.

As a matter of fact, when it played in Washington, Nixon put his White House investigator on it to find out who put that thing in the theater. Was it communists or just somebody trying to make money? Maybe both.

#### Doesn't sell so well

Anyway, it's well worth seeing. But if you do, you have to bear in mind that what you think is just camp and funny as hell, in the 1950s, during the witch-hunt, a lot of people took seriously; and Nixon got away with it. So you see, it's not just some personal attribute of Nixon that has put him in the spot he's in now. It's also that what used to sell doesn't sell so well anymore.

Another interesting point in Nixon's career was 1954, the year the first Indochina war ended at the battle of Dien Bien Phu. The French were

to establish a position of strength from which to negotiate a favorable settlement from the point of view of imperialism.

That process took him more than his entire first term and cost untold thousands dead, and though most U.S. troops have been withdrawn, it isn't over yet. Nixon is right back where President Kennedy was in about 1963, from the point of view of U.S. military involvement.

#### Why not Kennedy?

That is a brief sketch of Nixon's record. Why, then, should I say he's any more favorite an enemy of mine than the other presidents? Well, let's take a look at John Kennedy's record. Kennedy, you'll recall, was elected in 1960. The United States was already involved in Vietnam, of course.

Then in 1961 Kennedy began to up the ante. He developed the whole counterinsurgency idea. He took under his wing the expert in that art, Maxwell Taylor. Under Kennedy the Green Berets were established. He had, of course, his special liberal twist to it. Kennedy said he was going to win the hearts and minds of the people, of the peasants.

We're going to do good things for the people we save from communism; our object is not just a negative anti-communism, he said. Our object is to spread freedom and even to improve the material life of the poor people

preparations for a military attack.

The opening gambit for a U.S. takeover of Cuba took place in 1961. The CIA recruited, paid, and trained an army of counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles. The plan was to land them at the Bay of Pigs and hold on until they could announce a provisional government of some sort, which would then appeal to the U.S. for military aid. And the U.S. would then move in with whatever massive intrusion was necessary to take over Cuba. That was the plan.

And when Raul Roa, the Cuban U.N. representative, complained about these preparations, it fell to Adlai Stevenson to assure the world that it simply wasn't so.

Now Adlai Stevenson was the country's most widely respected—I might say loved—liberal. He had a lot of authority with the American people. He was an intellectual. One time he was even photographed with a hole in his shoe. He had the common touch. Lots of people thought him charming. That's one reason he was not my favorite enemy. Though he was an enemy. I don't want my enemies to have charm.

He was appointed ambassador to the U.N. to be the face to the world for Kennedy's policy of counterinsurgency.

One day planes flew over Cuba and bombed their airfields. It is obvious, said Cuba's representative Roa, that this is the beginning of an invasion.

#### Then there was Johnson

Then there was Johnson. You all know about Johnson. Vietnam. In 1964, Johnson ran against Goldwater, a right-wing reactionary. A lot of people then said, "Oh my, the left

*Continued on following page*



'Kennedy said he was going to win the hearts and minds of the people...'

# ...If Nixon goes, Ford isn

Continued from preceding page

has to rally behind Johnson because of this terrible threat."

Well, it's true, Goldwater was a terrible threat. Exactly as terrible as Johnson. And what the left should have been doing at that time was building, however small, its own independent political power against both those terrible threats.

Unfortunately not many people in the left of the time did that. In all modesty I must say I did. I campaigned for Clifton DeBerry, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

During that campaign I remember an ad in the *New York Times* signed by many people in the peace movement. It called for a vote for Johnson and Humphrey for peace. At the time Johnson implied he wasn't going to escalate the war in Vietnam. He was lying through his teeth. You didn't have to be a genius to figure it out, either. We figured it out. We said so at the time. We said he's preparing to escalate the war. We weren't blinded by wishful thinking, or by the myth that Democratic con artists are somehow better than Republican con artists.



Architects of the Vietnam war under Kennedy were Dean Rusk and Robert McNamara. Both stayed on under LBJ. At right, Johnson and McNamara announce in December 1966 that they need another \$10-billion for the war.

Right in the middle of that election, in August, Johnson bombed North Vietnam, a one-shot bombing, and pushed through the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. He claimed that a couple of U.S. destroyers, just trying to spread freedom and improve the material life of the poorest Asians, were innocently cruising around in the Gulf of Tonkin, only 8,000 miles from U.S. shores, and they were attacked. Attacked mind you, by those big, bad communist North Vietnamese patrol boats who were rampaging around a full 11 miles off their own shore. The U.S. ships weren't hit, but it was the principle of the thing. How dare they?

Johnson whipped up a hysteria and pushed the resolution through Congress, the resolution that was used as authorization for escalating the war to the point of half a million U.S. troops and the worst bombing in the history of warfare, second only to that later perpetrated by Nixon.

## 'Bring home the coonskin'

People in Congress knew, of course, that Johnson was preparing to escalate, to "bring home the coonskin," as he used to put it. But only two voted against—Morse and Gruening. All the rest voted for the resolution. Later, a lot of them claimed they'd been had, fooled. But they knew. Morse told them. No, they were had because they wanted to be had. All

of them.

Who voted for it? Fulbright voted for it.

I knew and he didn't? Nonsense. He knew. He went along for the ride. Maybe they *could* bring home the coonskin. Only when it was proven they had bitten off more than they could chew did he start a little campaign to make the record that maybe they ought to be a little more careful in face of the new moods.

Ted Kennedy voted for it. Yes he did. And he was smart. He knew. McCarthy—Eugene, that is—voted for it. McGovern. Yes, McGovern, he voted for it too. The whole bipartisan cabal.

In the House of Representatives the vote was unanimous with only one abstention. That was Adam Clayton Powell of Harlem. He said he was a pacifist and abstained. I always thought that's one reason they got him later.

Maybe so, maybe not. But as Nixon now so brutally states it in the famous transcripts, the FBI's Hoover "had a file on everybody." He knew how to bring them into line, according to Nixon, and Johnson used Hoover that way even more than Nixon did, ac-



Johnson, not to campaign on the Vietnam war, and so forth, because the system was about to "give" these breakthroughs on civil rights.

Then after the election Johnson gave us Goldwater's program. He escalated, beginning on Feb. 7, 1965. The real reason was because the South Vietnamese puppet regime was losing and was about to fall. The reason Johnson gave was that an American base at a place called Pleiku had been attacked. Once again by these terrible, red commie infiltrators, according to Johnson. They infiltrate so well they get born there.

## Different point of view

They had the effrontery to attack an American base—only halfway around the world from America, and in the middle of their own country. How gross of them to lob some shells into it, revealing a different point of view on the benefits to the poor of the American counterinsurgency program. Didn't they know the American forces were there in the name of good liberal ideals, to spread freedom, and even to improve the material life of the people?

But that was a lie! Because the American capitalist system can't spread anything anymore but urban sprawl. It's reached that point. It's no longer progressive.

There was a time when capitalism had a few corners to fill and some improvements to make, but it isn't happening anymore. Every "improvement" turns into its opposite—some kind of a nightmare. That's another reason why Nixon's in the trouble he's in. It's beginning to catch up with them and Nixon's on the hot seat. Not just because of Nixon's personality. Though I must admit he does lack a certain charm.

## What about Roosevelt?

Well, I've heard people say there are good capitalist politicians. Look at Roosevelt. If we only had him now. He never would have gotten himself into a position like that. He never lied to the people and stole and bugged people. All this is an aberration. Oh, yeah?

Nixon is a piker compared to Roosevelt. But Roosevelt was in a different time when they could get away with an awful lot. For example, take the attack on Pearl Harbor, where almost 3,000 American sailors were killed.

As a result Roosevelt was able to whip the country into the Second World War in a big patriotic fervor. But you know there was something fishy about that attack.

At the time there were still a few isolationist Congressmen left, and they got suspicious and started a Congressional investigation.

You know how the liberal politicians are always saying now to those who propose getting out of places like Vietnam lock, stock, and barrel: Oh, you're proposing that we be isolationists. As if that's a bad word. The isolationists were capitalist politicians who didn't believe in imperialism. That's a contradiction so obvious now that there aren't any left like that in Congress.

But in those days there were a few. Sort of living anachronisms. But from the point of view of principle, or just plain decency, they were certainly no worse than those damned liberals who were so fuming anxious to get us into that bloodbath, the biggest bloodbath in human history.

Their investigation of Pearl Harbor uncovered some dirt, let me tell you. But you don't have to take it from me. You can take it from the most eminent American historian of the time, Charles Beard, in a book called *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War, 1941*.

## Pearl Harbor

There it is shown that Roosevelt had been trying to get the U.S. into the war for some time, considered this his central political problem, to overcome the domestic opposition to getting into it. That he had every reason to know that the Japanese would attack sooner or later because he was goading them into it. In spite of this, he left the fleet at Pearl Harbor, an inviting target for a surprise attack, which was known as a key piece in the Japanese warlords' bag of tricks.

Why? Because he was a Japanese agent? No. Not at all. Because he knew that any temporary military advantage to the Japanese would be far outweighed by the political advantage in unifying the American people behind unquestioning, all-out prosecution of the war aims of the U.S. rulers. Read this book. It's not a secret. It was public. But still it was buried. And shoved aside. And lied about. And covered up.

One reason they were able to get



Liberals urged vote for LBJ, arguing that he would back civil rights legislation. But real reason for passage of rights laws was mass struggle of Blacks who demanded their rights.



# 't going to be any better'



Militant/Ron Payne

Roosevelt and Truman were able to get away with their war crimes because there was no mass antiwar movement.

away with that was because there was no antiwar movement. The radicals were then overwhelmingly dominated by the Communist Party or the social democrats, both of whom were the most rabid supporters of war. The muckrakers—in the good sense, journalists who dig up political dirt and air it before the public—were heavily influenced by that atmosphere, if not directly controlled by the warmakers.

Anybody who would say or write anything that could conceivably interfere with the total support of the American people for that bloodbath was a fink, traitor, nut pacifist, mad Trotskyite dog. And there weren't many of us around.

## Truman's biggest crime

Of the five presidents preceding Nixon that leaves only Harry Truman. His was perhaps the biggest cover-up of all, and in a broad historical sense, the biggest crime. He gave us—all of us, and all our progeny—atomic warfare. Now that's something to leave the human race. He dropped the Bomb on a city full of people. Not just once. But twice. Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He did it on the excuse that he was ending the war quicker and saving American lives.

But that was a lie too. Because it is now well documented that Japan was already suing for peace—on exactly the same terms that were finally granted. Even Admiral Leahy, the head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was opposed to the use of the bomb. Because it wasn't necessary to defeat Japan, or appreciably shorten the war.

But Truman ordered it done anyway. To show the world the U.S. had it, and had the ruthlessness to use it on human beings.

Why could they get away with that then, and they can't cover this thing up now? Well, it's a new day. A new time. Things have happened. Things have changed. Just look at the effect on the country of the antiwar movement and the student movement. Look at the effect of the Black movement.

Of the Chicano movement, of the women's movement.

And now Nixon is faced with the reaction of the working class as such against inflation. That's the heavy artillery getting oiled up. That's one side of it.

Another side of it is that the dirty tricks of the executive committee of the capitalist ruling class—the top government officials—have been having a cumulative effect also. Nixon is paying dues not just for Watergate, not even just for Cambodia, Laos, and the worst bombing in history. But also for all those other big lies the American people were told by the government over recent years, including the U-2, the Bay of Pigs, Tonkin Gulf, and so on, and so on.

Nobody believes him when he asks for trust because there's a cumulative effect of the "crisis of confidence", of the "credibility gap," and whatever else they've been calling it over recent years.

## It's late in the day

It's not just personality that allowed Roosevelt, for example, to get away with more than Nixon can. The time chooses the man. The system has been using up its elbow room. It's late in the day. There's not much room left for talent to play a decisive role in that game.

If Nixon goes, Ford isn't going to be any better, and the chances are that whoever they put in after that isn't going to end up very charming either. Because to maneuver yourself into the job of chief preserver and extender of capitalism this late in the game, you have to have all the humanity, the soul, the historic insight of a dried-up prune.

Take the break-in at Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office, for example. What drove the White House to that was the release of the Pentagon papers. They didn't contain any secrets. The essence was already known to the antiwar movement. Their significance was that they were government documents admitting that the American people had been lied to about policy ques-

tions on which the people have a right to make value judgments.

That's what hurt. That's what sent Nixon up the wall. And Kissinger. That they could no longer keep the American people in the dark about things they had every right to know. And that revelation was not the result of conspiracy, but of a profound social process.

But Nixon couldn't wrap his narrow con man's mind around that process. For him it must have been the result of conspiracy, to be answered in kind. So he reached into his bag of dirty conspiratorial tricks—all ready and waiting and well used by his predecessors.

Can you imagine it. The White House sends off a crew of broken-down James Bonds left over from the Bay of Pigs caper to find the secret to a profound social process—in Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office. What the hell did they expect to find? Some mental disease that turned good Rand Corporation robots into decent human beings?

As we know from the FBI's COINTELPRO documents, part of their bag of dirty tricks was to spread paranoia in the ranks of the Black movement, the antiwar movement, among radicals.

Well, they spread paranoia all right. Right into the White House. It was all a big conspiracy, you see, a plot. Their enemies were out to get them. And their enemies were everywhere. Even in their own think tanks. Even on Kissinger's staff. Even—of all places—in the Democratic campaign headquarters at Watergate. Nixon even bugged himself. Brilliant!

## Just one gem

Well, those Nixon transcripts are another reason Nixon is my favorite enemy. To mention just one of the gems they contain: the admission that for the top officials of the U. S. government "national security" is just a blanket to throw over, to cover up, illegal, immoral activities that the American people wouldn't countenance if they knew about them.

That revelation is worth a great deal. A great deal. Because it's a profound truth that will spread through the body politic. When you hear "national security" you know they're trying to cover up some filthy business you wouldn't support.

That's true even outside the confines of Watergate itself. It's true of virtually everything they do—and have done



Militant/P. Ian Shannon

Fred Halstead speaking at an antiwar conference in 1971. Halstead was socialist candidate for president in 1968.

for years—under the guise of "national security." It's true of nine-tenths of the so-called defense budget. I say nine-tenths because just to add to the confusion they include in that budget some things like veterans benefits and flood control. But that's just part of the cover-up.

It wouldn't be supported by the American people if the real reasons were known for all those bases around the world, for all those bombs, for all the rest. It has absolutely nothing, zero, to do with my security or your security or the security of ordinary Americans, or with the safety and integrity of the country.

It has everything to do with assuring fat profits for the rich—not just those directly involved in military hardware, though that's not peanuts—but the whole structure of exploitation, of investments and future investment possibilities around the world. That's the real reason for their "counterinsurgency" programs, their counterrevolutionary policies, which have so often threatened—and still threaten—nuclear war.

In this regard don't kid yourself that because Nixon sat down with Mao and Breshnev the world is safer from the threat of war. On the contrary.

## Eyeball to eyeball

The deal is that the superpowers settle all the hot spots themselves. Every local war poses the immediate possibility of an eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation between the superpowers. That's dangerous.

That's what happened in the recent Mideast war when Nixon put all the chips on the table by alerting the U. S. nuclear attack force. There we were, after the detente, once again on the edge of holocaust.

But an interesting thing happened that time. People didn't believe Nixon. Didn't trust him. Didn't rally around the flag. Didn't believe this was necessary in our defense. And they were right. Some even accused Nixon of making that response just to take attention from Watergate. That's not true, incidentally. He really meant it, really was throwing the nuclear chips on the table. But what's new is that the people didn't trust the government to do that.

Kissinger realized the importance of this phenomenon. It weakens his hand in his Doctor Strangelove games. He likes to have nuclear chips to bargain with. His comment about the fact that the people didn't rally like obedient little pawns was that it is part of the "poisonous atmosphere of the times." Part of the healthy skepticism of the times, I say.

And that's another reason why Nixon's my favorite enemy. By getting caught in the Watergate crisis, and having all this hang out, Nixon has contributed—unwillingly and unwittingly to be sure—to a healthy skepticism by the American people regarding the war aims of the government. That's an important factor for peace, more so if more hangs out and the skepticism increases.

## I'm enjoying the agony

That is not the least of the reasons why important sectors of the ruling class want Nixon to go, before his term expires. Whether they'll succeed in pushing him out, I wouldn't know. Not that I personally want to see Nixon make it through, though I'm enjoying the agony, frankly.

Continued on following page

# ... 'Nixon: my favorite enemy'

Continued from preceding page

But Ford wouldn't be any better. Just somewhat less compromised. Which is not a good thing. I like my enemies to be compromised.

In any case whether it's Nixon or Ford for the next two-and-a-half years is a ruling-class affair. It's none of my affair. I wouldn't waste my time with that any more than I'd campaign for some Democrat or Republican.

There are some people in the radical movement, in the antiwar movement, who are now trying to mount an impeachment movement. We're familiar with some of them from discussions in the antiwar movement over single-issue and multi-issue.

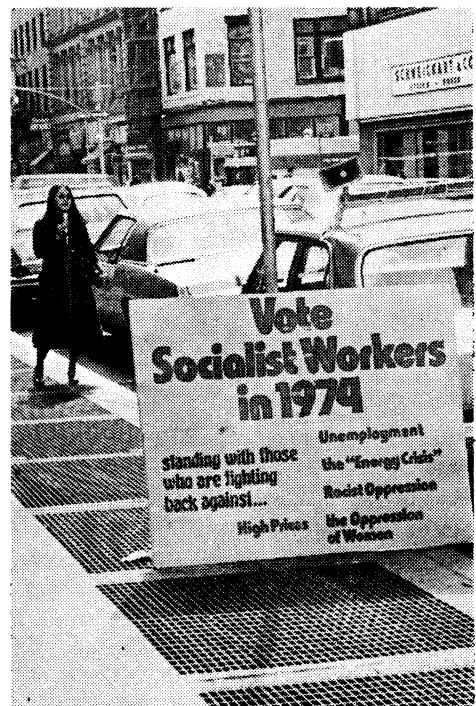
They just couldn't see the importance of building a movement of maximum unity around the single, simple proposition of getting the U.S. out of Vietnam. They fought us tooth and nail on that, trying time and again to impose on the antiwar movement their own particular multi-issue set of political views, while we just kept building and supporting maximum unity of all those opposed to U.S. intervention in Vietnam regardless of their views on other matters. That's what put millions in the streets.

## Clever Trotskyists

Now some of these multi-issue advocates think they've seen the light. They think they've taken a page from the book of those clever "Trots." They're trying to build a single-issue impeach Nixon campaign.

But the presidency of the United States is a multi-issue office. The answer is a multi-issue answer. Different political tendencies will have different answers. To attempt to lump them all together, if it succeeds at all, can only mean subordinating the socialist wing to the capitalist wing, because the capitalists dominate that movement with their multi-issue answer, which is Ford, or after him the next candidate of the Democratic or Republican parties.

No. The answer to this one is multi-issue, not single issue. It is to take advantage of the revelations, the skepticism, the spreading anger at capitalist politicians in general, to build the independent political power of the oppressed. The biggest such campaign now going on is the election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party involving candidates in 15 states across the country. This is the time to take advantage of the weakness of my favorite enemy to build the socialist movement.



Militant/Phil Reed

# Illinois socialists file 55,000 signatures, demand equal time

By DAN CAINE

CHICAGO—The Illinois Socialist Workers Party capped its successful drive for 55,000 petition signatures with a campaign rally on Aug. 3.

Collected by campaign supporters throughout Illinois, more than 40,000 signatures to place the party's statewide candidates on the ballot had been filed the previous week in Springfield. The filing was followed by a well-attended news conference hosted by the SWP campaign committee.

The socialist candidates nominated for the statewide ballot include Ed Heisler, candidate for U.S. Senate; Mary Wismer, Brian Williams, and Antonio DeLeon, candidates for Board of Trustees at the University of Illinois; and Suzanne Haig, candidate for state treasurer.

In addition, 15,000 signatures were filed in Chicago on behalf of Willie Reid, SWP candidate for Congress in the 1st C.D. This event marked the first time since the 1940s that a socialist candidate has sought ballot status in an Illinois congressional district.

A related development was reported by the Aug. 3 Chicago *Daily News*. In an article titled, "Socialists stumbling block to Stevenson-Burditt debate," the paper described the quandary facing the broadcast media, which have been covering a series of debates between incumbent Democratic Senator Adlai Stevenson III and his Republican opponent, George Burditt. Rather than granting equal television and radio time as legally required to Heisler, their socialist opponent, most stations have opted to cancel the debates entirely.

Heisler proposed a reasonable solution to this crisis in the marketplace of ideas: "There's no need to cover the socialist campaign separately. I would be more than happy to appear on the same platform with Stevenson and Burditt."

Keynoting the Aug. 3 rally was Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the SWP national campaign committee. Dixon

had recently testified in official hearings in Minnesota against laws enacted nationally and in several states requiring political parties to disclose to the government their financial supporters.

The rally applauded his emphatic declaration that "we don't think that we should prepare an 'enemies list' for the government."

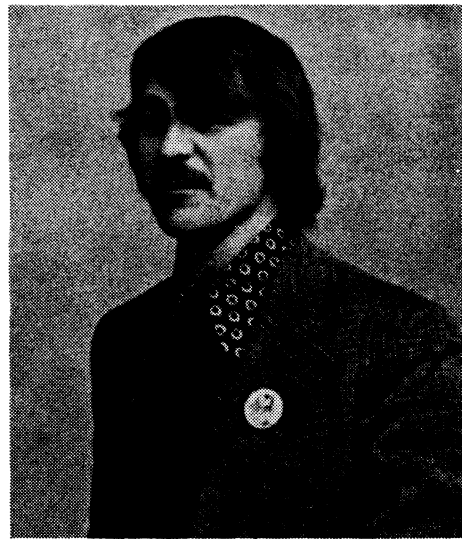
Ed Heisler, a railroad worker and member of the United Transportation Union (UTU), spoke on the new openings for the socialist campaign in the trade-union movement.

His campaign plans, in addition to speaking before UTU locals throughout the Chicago area, include accepting an invitation from the United Mine Workers (UMW) to appear at meetings of six locals around the state. One UMW official, commenting on the television stations' refusal to grant Heisler equal time with his opponents, told Heisler, "It looks like those Republicans and Democrats are afraid to tangle with you socialists."

Heisler told the rally the message he plans to deliver to the workers he will be meeting: "Adlai Stevenson advertises himself as a 'friend of labor.' Stevenson not only supported the wage freeze against working people, but he also submitted a bill to make railroad strikes illegal, no matter for what grievance they are called. Will this 'friend of labor' support the communications workers if they go out on strike? Can we depend on him to fight for the repeal of the antilabor Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffith laws?"

The answer, Heisler said, is obviously "No," because Stevenson, like all other Republican and Democratic politicians, does not represent working people; he represents the employers. Heisler intends to remind his union audiences that "every major piece of antilabor legislation, without exception, has been adopted by a Democratic-controlled Congress."

The political alternative to capitalist rule, Heisler said, must be provided



Militant/Cassandra Dowden

Ed Heisler, SWP senatorial candidate, will speak to six United Mine Workers locals.

by the union movement. "We need a labor party in this country to champion the cause of the working people, the unemployed, the oppressed nationalities, and women."

"Without the labor of working people this country would shut down. So we think we're pretty important. Yet we come last in the list of government priorities, and the profits of the employers come first. So we're telling the working people of Illinois that they can run this country in the interests of the majority."

The aim of the SWP, Heisler said, is to organize the power of the oppressed to change society in accordance with human needs.

Other speakers at the rally included a representative of CASA, a Chicano organization fighting against the deportation of undocumented workers in the United States, and a representative of the United Farm Workers union.

A fund appeal raised nearly \$600 to be used in financing Heisler's tour of the UMW locals, campaign street rallies in Chicago, and other campaign expenses.

# Why prison censors reject Militants

By ROSE OGDEN

*The Militant* is sent out each week to many subscribers in prisons throughout the country, but not every issue reaches the prisoner it is sent to. Prison officials review the contents of each week's issue and often decide to ban it. Rarely is *The Militant* informed when issues are ruled unacceptable, and in no instance have we been told why.

Through the New York Civil Liberties Union, however, we were recently informed of three issues that were withheld from one of our subscribers in a New York state prison. The prison censors decided that four specific articles in these issues were in violation of the prison's Media Review Committee's guidelines. The official justification for this censorship was not spelled out; however, a glance at the proscribed articles is revealing.

The June 21 and July 12, 1974, issues were held back because of articles reporting on the struggle of the Atlanta Black community against the cop terror squads responsible for the deaths of 21 Blacks in the past 18 months.

The June 28 issue was also withheld because of an article from Atlanta reporting on a mock trial against police crimes held by the Black com-

munity there.

Another article singled out as unacceptable in the June 28 issue reported on the acquittal of killer-cop Thomas Shea, who gunned down a 10-year-old Black youth in Queens, N. Y.

There is no doubt that the image of killer-cops in Atlanta and New York walking off scot-free would do little to uphold respect for the "law and order" the prison officials represent. It would be better from their point of view to withhold this evidence of the racist and oppressive "justice" meted out by the capitalist system.

We can only speculate about what other articles have been considered

unacceptable. For example, did the July 19, 1974 *Militant* slip past the vigilant censors? This included the article headlined "Life in a federal 'Watergate prison,'" which contrasted the Watergate minimum-security prisons, with their tennis courts, daily conjugal visits, and unarmed guards, to the Atticas and San Quentins where prisoners are brutalized daily and denied elementary human and civil rights.

We also wonder if this article will ever reach our subscribers in prison. Or will the Media Review Committee consider an article telling the truth about their actions to be in violation of their "guidelines"?

# Atlanta Blacks conduct trial of police crimes

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA—Three hundred people marched to the city hall on the afternoon of June 18 to conduct a mock trial of racist police chief John Inman.

Only hours before, Mayor Maynard

der squads like the decoy squad and stakeout units."

Police in Atlanta have shot and killed 21 people, 20 of them Black, in the past 15 months.

Other charges against Inman included "illegal intimidation of work-

Above article, from June 28 *Militant*, was considered 'unacceptable' by prison authorities.



# Detente and the world revolution

Below is the conclusion of the report on "The Unfolding New World Situation" given to the national committee of the Socialist Workers Party in April 1973 by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes. The first part of the report was printed in last week's Militant.

This new world situation is recognized by the main sectors of the ruling class. Several days ago, on April 23 [1973], Henry Kissinger delivered a major speech calling for a new Atlantic Charter to mark "The Year of Europe."

This policy statement, reflecting the consensus of the ruling class of the United States, outlined the new relations it sought to impose upon the world. Every one of the fundamental points we have been discussing and analyzing can be noted in the speech, including the demise of the Bretton Woods agreement, the limits of military power, the costs of empire, and the new competitive situation among the capitalist states.

Within this framework, Kissinger was telling the European, Japanese, Canadian, and other capitalists what the American rulers are bidding for.

To really understand Kissinger's speech, it is necessary to translate his diplomatic language into class language. That's not really so difficult.

Kissinger began by describing the previous era as finished: "The era that was shaped by decisions of a generation ago is ending."

Here is his version of that preceding period: "In the forties and fifties the task was economic reconstruction and security against the danger of attack." In other words, the containment of the class struggle and the military preparations to roll back the workers states.

"The West responded with courage and imagination." In other words, Europe had no choice but to accept American domination; in exchange, capitalist property relations in Europe were saved by the Marshall Plan, following the Stalinist "peaceful coexistence" betrayal in 1945-47.

But, Kissinger affirms, there is a problem now. "In Europe a new generation . . . takes stability for granted." However, he continues, "it is less committed to the unity that made peace possible and to the effort required to maintain it. In the United States decades of global burdens have fostered and the frustrations of the war in Southeast Asia have accentuated a reluctance to sustain global involvements on the basis of preponderant American responsibility."

To cope with this problem he calls for "a new era of creativity in the West." And he concludes with an appeal: "We ask our friends in Europe, Canada and ultimately Japan to join us in this effort. This is what we mean by the Year of Europe."

Translated to convey the new reality, it means that given the present relationship of forces and the new economic problems, Washington's junior partners now must help foot the bill for policing the world for capitalism. For the specter of world revolution still haunts world capitalism, and the Yankee bomb is its ultimate defense. And it can't be had at wholesale prices, or without trade and monetary concessions as part of the package.

When Kissinger reaches what the bourgeois commentators call "the most diplomatic and most philosophical part" of the speech, he touches a problem of some dimension. "The political, military and economic issues in Amer-

ican relations," he declares, "are linked by reality, not by our choice nor for the tactical purpose of trading one off against the other. The solutions will not be worthy of the opportunity if left to technicians. They must be addressed at the highest level."

Later he returns to amplify this theme: "If [these questions] are left solely to the experts, the inevitable competitiveness of economic interests will dominate the debate. The influence of pressure groups and special interests will become pervasive. There will be no overriding sense of direction. There will be no framework for the generous solutions or mutual concessions essential to preserve a vital Atlantic partnership."

What Kissinger was really saying is: We're going to fight you on this. We're in no condition for generous solutions and we intend the "concessions" to be as one-sided as possible. The American "technicians and experts" will insist on getting trade and monetary concessions not justified in face of the declining productivity differential of American capital. They will seek to get these concessions on the basis of the size of the U. S. economy, the power of its military arsenal, and the lack of a clear alternative to the dollar as the world unit of account. That's how the "political, military and economic issues" are linked.

Kissinger goes on: "The task is all the more difficult because the lessening of tensions has given new impetus to arguments that it is safe to begin reducing forces unilaterally. And unbridled economic competition can sap the impulse for common defense. All governments of the western alliance face a major challenge in educating their peoples to the realities of security in the 1970s." Translation: You better be prepared to put even more of a squeeze on your workers to foot more of the cost of our world counterrevolutionary efforts which we intend to continue! And in the face of the unfolding detente it may not be so easy politically. You may also find in your working class a "reluctance to sustain global burdens."

To make sure no one misunderstands, Kissinger adds: "There is an increasing uneasiness—all the more insidious for rarely being made explicit—that superpower diplomacy might sacrifice the interests of traditional allies and other friends." Never, never, he assures them. But since that is just what has happened over the last two years, he should have added, "Well, hardly ever!" Underneath the appeal for understanding and collaboration is the threat of economic warfare and a new rise of protectionism in the most basic sense.

"The relaxation of tensions to which we are committed makes allied cohesion indispensable, yet more difficult." That is the other side of the detente. How willing are Nixon's competitors to pay more for policing the world when they are not sure how much they need it—especially as it will involve resources that they can use to raise productivity and compete more efficiently? And especially if there is to be no "rollback" and Brezhnev and Mao are to collaborate in restraining, containing, disciplining, and—if necessary—suppressing any revolt that threatens to upset the status quo.

The Year of Atlantic Disunity may be a more accurate title than the Year of Europe.

At the very same time as Kissinger was giving this speech, in which he talked about the need for the imperialists to collaborate on the "energy crisis," another speech was being given in Tokyo which provides an example of exactly what kind of collaboration is in store.

This speech was given by a man named Jamieson, who is the chairman of Exxon, the largest oil corporation in the world. Jamieson criticized the Japanese (without naming them) for trying to "save money and assure themselves of adequate supplies by making direct arrangements for supplies [of oil] from producing countries." He said, "There is no evidence that such supplies will be any less costly than oil obtained through the international companies."

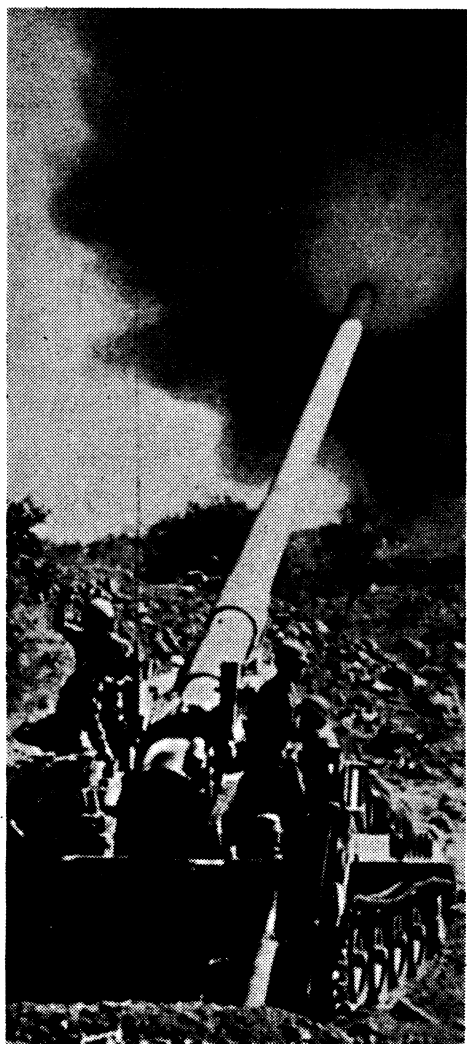
I'm sure the applause was very polite—if somewhat restrained. The *New York Times* reporter added that among the polite applauders were representatives of the ministry of a Mr. Nakasone, who released a little information about himself and his plans the following morning to the press, which reported: "Mr. Nakasone, whose ministry oversees the oil industry [in Japan], is scheduled to leave shortly on a 10-day visit to four major Middle Eastern oil producers—Saudi Arabia, Iran, Kuwait, and Abu Dhabi. It is reported that he will offer those nations economic aid in return for an independent oil supply" (*New York Times*, April 25, 1973).

So, beneath all the diplomatic language and talk about the desire for maintaining a smoothly functioning capitalist alliance are the harsh realities: deepening economic competition between the capitalist powers; the prospect of exacerbation of this competition as a result of the openings afforded by the Sino-Soviet dispute and the detente; and the determination of the American rulers, that even though they must treat other capitalist powers on a more equal footing than before, they will continue to remain on top.

## Moscow and Peking as rivals

How do the workers states fit into the overall world situation?

*Continued on following page*



Israeli artillery during Mideast war in October 1973. U.S. imperialists brought world to brink of nuclear war in order to protect their Israeli client state, and didn't even bother to inform their NATO allies.



Deepening economic competition among capitalist powers was theme of Kissinger's speech at world energy conference earlier this year. Above, Kissinger with British, German, and French finance ministers.

# The Stalinist parties are 'instruments for upholding the bourgeois order on a world scale'



NIXON & CHOU EN-LAI: List of struggles betrayed by Maoists in past few years includes Vietnam, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and the Sudan.

Continued from preceding page

In recent months, Peking and Moscow have seemed to be vying with each other in putting on a craven display before the ruling classes of the major imperialist powers. This month the award probably goes to the Chinese bureaucracy, which managed to recognize Franco's Spain only one week after East Germany and before the Soviet Union, and to praise the Greek colonels for remaining independent of the "Soviet sphere of influence." But we can be sure that Brezhnev will exert every effort to regain the award when he visits Nixon.

Moscow and Peking's great betrayal of the Vietnamese in 1972 and the further unfolding of the detente confirm to the hilt what Trotsky warned of the consequences that would flow from the Stalinist theory of building "socialism in one country"; consequences which ineluctably lead to the betrayal of the world revolution.

In both the Soviet Union and China crystallized parasitic castes monopolize state power. Their fundamental concern is the maintenance and expansion of their own material privileges on the basis of nationalized property. The attitude of these castes towards the world revolution is one of total hostility. They view it as a threat to their own precarious rule. Where they are able to influence revolutionary movements, they use these movements as small change in diplomatic dealings aimed at maintaining their own positions.

There is no reason to believe that they will not go further in their betrayals or in cementing blocs and consummating deals with the bourgeois powers in their quest for advantage in their internecine struggle.

The Sino-Soviet dispute is only the sharpest reflection of the fundamentally competitive relations among privileged Stalinized bureaucracies, each of which is guided by narrow national interests.

If, as we believe, foreign policy constitutes an extension of domestic policy, it is excluded that these bureaucratic castes can adopt a policy of proletarian internationalism and of collective and collaborative development of the productive resources of the workers states. Their limited national horizons and bureaucratic rivalries and material interests preclude it.

The only way this can come about is through political revolutions that overthrow the totalitarian bureaucracies and establish workers democracy, which alone can bring about genuine internationalism in foreign policy, including complementary economic planning among the workers states, and a concerted effort to extend the world revolution. Those who think this necessity has been eliminated by Soviet economic growth are even more mistaken than Bukharin and Stalin were in 1928. The Soviet Union today is more dependent on the world market and world resources, not less.

The Soviet Union has massed divisions of troops and nuclear arms on its border with China. The propaganda emanating from Moscow is blatantly racist, loaded with "yellow-peril" appeals. In Eastern Europe, with the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 came the formal announcement of the Brezhnev doctrine of limited sovereignty, which proclaims Moscow's right and duty to suppress not only any popular uprising but any fundamental policy alterations in the deformed workers states that threatens the stability of the rule of the Soviet bureaucracy.

The Chinese bureaucracy, in turn, has shown in action how counterrevolutionary its foreign policy is. Since the detente we have seen its pro-NATO statements, its encouragement of the NATO nations not to withdraw a single division from the western boundaries of the Soviet Union, its expression of anxiety lest Greece fall into the Soviet sphere of influence, since the colonels, as Peking sees it, are a lesser evil. This is but an extension of the game of power politics that found crass expression earlier in the betrayals of liberation struggles in Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and the Sudan.

As the ramifications of the broad detente continue to unfold, we will see more and more evidence of the kind Trotsky pointed to when he explained that the Comintern and all its parties have become instruments for upholding the bourgeois order on a world scale. And we will see deepgoing effects as the Communist parties whose basic policy is determined by their subordination to the bureaucracies in Moscow or Peking try to rationalize and apply the new twists and turns made necessary by the new "peaceful coexistence" detente.

We noted also, that the detente underscores our analysis of the Stalinist character of the Chinese regime and of the Chinese Communist Party. At the end of 1968, when so few commentators and "experts" believed it, Joe Hansen wrote in *Intercontinental Press* that the Chinese were offering a peaceful coexistence deal to the Nixon administration. Actually, they were proposing anew a deal that had been offered before—immediately after World War II, and right at the time of the conquest of power.

Joe Hansen said that this time the deal might well be accepted, and that if so, it would mean the betrayal of the Vietnamese and lead to a very different world situation. If the deal should materialize, he added, it would surprise "more than a few observers of the Chinese scene." In the July 26, 1971, issue of *Intercontinental Press* Joe Hansen was able to reprint this article without changing a word. As he said in a short editorial note, "Although

it was written before Nixon was sworn into office as president, the article makes timely reading in connection with the current turn in diplomatic relations between Peking and Washington."

The immediate reason for the detente was Nixon's need for assistance in salvaging the Vietnam situation for imperialism. And there was only one place he could turn for help.

Nixon was in trouble! There was no possibility of convincing the American people to acquiesce in a further deepening of the war. The detente coincided with the magnificent spring offensive—possibly the military high point of the national liberation struggle. That's when Nixon felt compelled to turn to Moscow and Peking for help. There is no question that history would have been changed by the mass antiwar reaction here if Moscow and Peking had stood up to Nixon's new bombing and mining offensive.

Within the context of the detente and the deepening of the Sino-Soviet dispute there will be more room for maneuver for the Eastern European rulers, and this will coincide with the growing insecurity of their rule as the detente raises the expectations of the workers and intellectuals in all the workers states. But this will all take place in the framework of the Brezhnev doctrine of limited sovereignty. That's an explosive scenario.

## The colonial revolution

In general, the intensification of interimperialist competition for control of world markets exacerbates the need to control the sources and drive down the prices of agricultural and industrial raw materials. This will add to the fuel that has kept the fires of colonial revolutions permanently burning since World War II.

One has only to look at the struggles in each of the Portuguese colonies in Africa, the ferment in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), the new Black proletarian upsurge in South Africa—not to speak of the Palestinian liberation struggle, the revolution in Bangladesh, and the war in Vietnam itself—to be reminded that the "powder kegs" of imperialism that Trotsky pointed to in 1928 are still exploding and will continue to do so.

It is also likely that there will be more room for maneuver by the indigenous ruling classes in the colonial world under these new circumstances, especially in some of the larger and more advanced semicolonial countries, like Brazil and Argentina. American capitalism will meet with sharper competition from Europe and Japan—a development welcomed by the Argentine bourgeoisie, for instance.

There have also been cases in which rival imperialist powers have seized on colonial struggles to advance their own interests on the battlefield, most notably the Congolese events in the first part of the 1960s and the Nigeria-Biafra war. Coupled with this is the process of developing "client states," like Brazil and Iran, which are expected to take on the role of military surrogates for U.S. capitalism in protecting imperialist interests on the regional level.

Furthermore, Washington seeks to utilize the detente with Moscow to preserve the "status quo" in the Arab East and around the Arab-Persian Gulf in favor of Israel and Iran and against the Arab revolution. Protection of U.S. oil "rights" there takes on increasing importance under the pressure of intensified world competition.

But none of these measures resolves the native bourgeoisie's fundamental incapacity to meet the most pressing needs of the masses or to play a genuinely independent role in the international political, economic, and military arena. The new world political situation changes nothing



'Immediate reason for detente was Nixon's need for assistance in salvaging the Vietnam situation for imperialism.'





American flag flies in Moscow. A revolutionary foreign policy in Moscow and Peking can only come about through overthrow of bureaucracy by working class.

## 'The national question will be a permanent factor in the class struggle'

regarding the incapacity of the comprador and national bourgeoisie to solve historical problems that only the working class can solve today.

In all probability, we will see a continuing trend towards the classical pattern of class struggle in the colonial world, that is, towards further confrontations between the massive and growing urban proletariat of the major colonial and semicolonial countries and their ruling classes and the bourgeois state. The trend along this line in the past three years does not constitute an anomaly, but is the pattern for the future.

Of course, there can be no universal model to be emulated everywhere. It would be fatal to make the same mistake that OLAS [Organization of Latin American Solidarity] made in seeing guerrilla war as the only possible model for the Latin American countries. But we believe it is clear that the general tendency is toward more classical methods of struggle, towards the use of methods traditionally employed by the urban proletariat.

As in Chile, the workers and their allies in Argentina have been on the offensive. They can win significant concessions from their ruling class, including greater democratic rights on the political arena, opening up a period of relatively favorable conditions to carry on the class struggle.

We will see more bourgeois regimes, like the one in Peru, seeking to take advantage of some of the weaknesses of world capitalism to solve their problems—the way Cardenas tried to solve them in Mexico and the way Nasser tried to solve them in Egypt. There will be growing competition to pluck the ripe plum of Brazil, where the Japanese capitalists have already made one of their greatest coups.

The students will continue to play a very important role in the colonial world—witness, for example, the recent student actions in the Arab East and in South Africa.

None of the problems of the colonial world can be solved by petty-bourgeois nationalist leaderships, by guerrilla warfare, or by some new gimmick that has not been thought of before. To the degree that Trotskyist parties are not constructed in these countries all evidence confirms that the Stalinists and Social Democrats will be able to reassert themselves. There can be no automatic bypassing of these bureaucratic misleaders in the labor movement. The experience of Chile, Argentina, and Peru, among others, drives this point home anew.

### Three sectors of world revolution

Within this new world situation, we also can anticipate more complex relations among the three sectors of the world revolution. There is likely to be much more interpenetration of ideas, models, conflicts, and the emulation of examples.

It is evident that the national question will be a major and permanent factor in the class struggle, not only in the colonial world, but in the advanced capitalist countries and in the degenerated and deformed workers states where national oppression is an acute issue.

The influence of the youth radicalization and the resurgence of the student movement in the advanced capitalist countries may be asserted more rapidly than ever before in the Soviet bloc in the years ahead. Movements like the struggle for women's liberation can affect the consciousness of the masses of the world more quickly than before.

The new rise of workers struggles in Western Europe can have the kind of effect in Poland, for example, that was not before possible—and vice-versa. But as the de-

## Dynamics of World Revolution Today

Anthology, edited by Will Reissner.

The four documents in this book deal with questions of vital importance to revolutionary socialists. Written for the world Trotskyist movement, they analyse the three sectors of the world revolution and their interaction—the proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalist countries, the colonial revolution in the "third world," and the political revolution in the Soviet Union and other workers' states.

Against this background, recent developments, such as the *détente*, the war in Vietnam, growing working-class militancy, the struggles of women, students, and oppressed nationalities are assessed.

Finally, the documents discuss the incapacity of the Stalinists and Social Democrats to provide revolutionary leadership and assess the progress being made by the Fourth International in the necessary work of building revolutionary parties. 192 pp., \$8.00, paper \$2.25

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Liberation fighters in Guinea-Bissau. Only socialist revolution can solve the problems faced by colonial countries.

tente unfolds there will be increasing interpenetration and a new richness of relations between the radicalization that is continuing in the advanced capitalist countries and the reawakening of the workers, students, intellectuals, and their allies in the Soviet bloc.

### Bringing our world view up-to-date

In 1963 the Socialist Workers Party drew up a document of political principles that was adopted as the basis for reunifying the then-divided world Trotskyist movement: *For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement*. That statement has met the test of time. It remains a solid, principled groundwork for world Trotskyism. But important new phenomena have occurred, and embryonic developments which were only noted in that document have matured. These have to be taken into consideration in bringing that document up-to-date. We plan to do this in cooperation with comrades around the world.

In that project, special note must be taken of the following nine points:

1. *The rise of the youth radicalization, its international impact, and its historic importance.*

There is evidence that another wave of student and youth upsurge has begun. We've seen new student upsurges in South Africa, Morocco, and Egypt. We've seen the first confrontations by the students with the colonels' regime in Greece. The Spanish students helped to spark the big new wave of workers' demonstrations. There was the massive student upsurge in Belgium. And in France, in the last month, there has been the biggest upsurge since May-June 1968; in many ways, the student protests there were more advanced than the student component of the May-June 1968 general strikes.

This phenomenon of the youth radicalization and our analysis of it must be brought up-to-date on the basis of the resolution adopted unanimously in 1969 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, entitled *The Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International*.

2. *The national question.*

We have always ascribed great importance to the national question in the colonial world. But we must also take note of its growing importance in the advanced capitalist countries and the workers states.

This question will not disappear or drop to a subordinate or peripheral character. On the contrary. The Irish question, for instance, is one of the keys to the crisis of British capitalism. The Quebec question will certainly play more than a modest role in the Canadian revolution. The Ukrainian question, as Trotsky predicted, will never allow the overlords in Moscow to rule in peace.

3. *New features of the political revolution.*

This will include the rise, scope, and limits of the courageous intellectual opposition in the Soviet Union; the lessons of the Czechoslovak and Polish events; the lessons of the Cultural Revolution and the evolution of Chinese Stalinism; the problems of workers self-management. Under this point, of course, we must note the further evolution of the Sino-Soviet dispute with its threat of military conflict.

4. *The decline of the relative stability and growth of world capitalism that marked the 1950s and the early 1960s.*

We must take note of the new stage that has been reached in the evolution of imperialism and the new problems world capitalism faces that are leading to new outbreaks of class conflict. We must outline the fundamental turn in world politics rooted in this "new" economic epoch, which so clearly spotlights the "old" contradictions outlined by Lenin.

5. *The evolution of the colonial revolution.*

Here we will have to note not only its continuing capacity to rebound from defeats (the strength, courage, and resilience of the colonial masses have been proved over and over in the last decade); we will also have to point out the limits of the petty-bourgeois leaderships that have held sway in the colonial world up until now and how the strategy of guerrilla war proved to be no substitute for the role played by a revolutionary party.

6. *The rise of the women's liberation movement and its effect on all facets of the class struggle and in all sectors of the world revolution.*

The international phenomenon of the growing radicali-

Continued on following page

# 'Construction of Leninist parties--the necessary method to lead the workers to victory'



May Day demonstration in Lisbon. Nixon 'mistakenly assumes stability will be readily attained.'

Continued from preceding page

zation and politicalization of women struggling for their economic, social, and sexual liberation is a new indication of the depth of the crisis of world imperialism. Striking at the patriarchal family system, one of the pillars of class rule, this struggle is an integral part of the social revolution. The significance of the rise of women's liberation, its importance for the revolutionary movement must be dealt with.

7. *The fundamental conclusions that must be drawn from the Vietnam experience, one of the turning points of world history.*

The strength of the national liberation struggle; and the fundamental obstacle that the program of "socialism in one country" is to its victorious culmination; the limits of American imperialism, at home and abroad; and the role of Soviet, Chinese, and Vietnamese Stalinism must be assessed.

8. *The changes that have occurred inside American capitalism.*

The new problems that the American capitalists face at home; the main features of the evolving radicalization, its potential for deepening, its contradictions, and its significance in world politics today and for the coming world socialist revolution must be indicated.

The document must take note of the difficulties facing the American ruling class in view of the current military, economic, diplomatic, and domestic political relations that have developed; the American ruling class, for all its power, does not have the capacity to grant the improvement in the quality of life necessary to contain and decisively roll back the radicalization that has begun.

9. *The fundamentally new stage of the class struggle in capitalist Europe.*

There is a new stage in the crisis of leadership of the European proletariat, and the European workers face a situation today different from that of either 1963 or 1968.

These are the major developments that must be considered in a concentrated programmatic way. They show how dramatically the class struggle has evolved since 1963.

### Continuing crisis of leadership

We will also have to draw up a balance sheet of the continuing crisis of world leadership of the proletariat: the Maoist Stalinist leadership, the Moscow Stalinist leadership, the guerrillaist leadership of OLAS, the petty-bourgeois nationalist leaderships of the Nasserist type, and of course, the balance sheet on the progress and problems of the world party of socialist revolution, the Fourth International.

Nixon contends that we are heading into a period of peaceful coexistence in the world. To the degree that there are problems, he thinks, they are going to come from the little fellows and (with Brezhnev and Mao's collaborative acquiescence) he will be able to whip them into line pretty easily.

The whole perspective includes extended class peace at home. Nixon may see a few potential trouble spots ahead, but he is sure that with the help of "reasonable" gentlemen like Secretary of Labor Peter Brennan and United Steel Workers President I.W. Abel, the ruling class will gain needed time to restore its rightful place in the world. With reasonableness and collaboration on both sides at home and abroad, he mistakenly assumes stability will be readily attained.

In the coming period, those heading up the regimes of the Soviet Union and China, the heads of the big Communist and Social-Democratic parties in Asia, Europe, and Latin America, or the bureaucratic misleaders of American labor will try to turn the detente to account in advancing their own interests. We should have no illusions about that.

The American labor bureaucrats have their class-collaborationist and narrowly nationalist answer to the problems American labor faces. Their answer is protectionism, business unionism, reliance on political "friends" in public office, cannibal unionism, increased lobbying, union officials in government posts, and long-term no-strike agreements. All the incapacities and criminal inclinations of these rotten layers will be exposed.

But Nixon fails to take into account certain pitfalls. The very steps the capitalists must take to try to get themselves out of the historical contradictions in which they find themselves will demolish the national and international class peace they seek to establish.

The most elusive culprit remains the built-in contradictions of the capitalist system. That is one "subversive" they can never put in jail.

There will be no lack of revolutionary upheavals. What is posed for us is the same question that has been central for our epoch: the question of leadership.

Our problem still remains the same as stated by Trotsky in the first sentence in the Transitional Program. "The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat."

A new generation is now coming to understand more concretely what that statement implies. The absence of a world Leninist leadership weighs heavily as the class struggle heats up, as new sectors of the class struggle



Red flag flies over occupied Renault factory outside Paris in May 1968. In the coming period 'there will be no lack of revolutionary upheavals.'

come into play, as upsurges occur in one country after another, as the masses continue to show their revolutionary capacities and combativity.

The acuteness of the crisis of leadership is perhaps clearer today than ever before. The lack of a Leninist party constitutes the greatest single obstacle to the victory of the world revolution.

The various alternatives to Leninism, to Trotskyism, have long demonstrated their bankruptcy. The pro-Moscow Stalinists, the Social Democrats, the labor bureaucrats, have all continued their course of betrayal.

But what of the various new alternatives that have arisen since World War II? The Yugoslav Stalinists at first purported to offer an internationalist alternative to Stalin and the Cominform — they ended up trying futilely to realign the neutrals and politically they are clearly bankrupt. Peking proved bankrupt time and again — first at the 1955 Bandung conference with the "neutral" capitalist countries, then in trying to rally the anti-Moscow, pro-Maoist Stalinists where it could find them. Now Peking vies with Moscow for the favor of American imperialism.

The Castroists, to their everlasting credit, bypassed the Stalinists and established the first workers state in our hemisphere. But they too have been unequal to the responsibilities of international leadership, although they did try to extend the revolution by consistently urging and aiding emulation of their guerrillaist line. They set up OLAS, carrying their line to the world leadership level as best they could. They tested their guerrillaist line in practice; it was found wanting. The guerrilla strategy advanced by Castroism became one of the obstacles in the fight for the construction of a revolutionary leadership.

The Nasserists and other petty-bourgeois nationalists — and the new lefts in various countries, who never got off the ground — all have been found wanting.

There is no vanguard that is adequate other than the Leninist vanguard. There is no way to construct a Leninist party other than through participation in the class struggle by the nuclei of conscious Leninists. The Stalinists of whatever variety, the guerrillaists, and the petty-bourgeois nationalists constitute obstacles on the path to the world revolution; they are obstacles to advancing the new working-class upsurges in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe, and North America. They offer only a dead end.

You know, we have always disagreed with Isaac Deutscher's choice of titles for his trilogy — *The Prophet Armed*, *The Prophet Unarmed*, and *The Prophet Outcast*. Describing Trotsky as a prophet shows the limits of Deutscher, but it doesn't tell us the truth about Trotsky. Trotsky was not a prophet. Trotsky was a revolutionary scientist. He was not a prophet who had a vision around which he constructed a schema to guide his action. That is a form of idealism, a form of impressionism, that leads to adaptationism and it is alien to Trotskyism. No, Trotsky wasn't a prophet. He was a scientist who dissected the living class struggle on the basis of the principles around which a Leninist party must be built to lead the class struggle forward.

We reject all the false answers, from Stalinism and Social Democracy to every other non-Leninist variant that has arisen in the postwar period.

We must continue to build Leninist parties on the basis of the method outlined in the Transitional Program adopted by the founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938, which was a continuation and extension of a century of Marxist analysis and practice. We reaffirmed that programmatic view in 1963 and continue to reaffirm it today.

Our view, from the very beginning, has been that the duty of the Fourth International is to be clear on this question above all else.

We fight to maintain the established Leninist norms of party building.

We view the construction of Leninist parties not as a preferable method but as the necessary method to lead the workers to victory and to guarantee that victory. That is the road we are determined to follow.



# Wounded Knee trial: the case for acquittal

By LEE GEARHART

ST. PAUL, Minn. — It was midwinter — seven months ago — when U.S. attorneys stood before federal judge Fred Nichol in a packed courtroom and vowed to prove that the two leaders of the American Indian Movement were guilty of 10 felony counts.

Fifty witnesses took the stand during courtroom testimony that lasted 98 days and fills tens of thousands of pages in the official court transcript.

The government's case, which concluded at the end of July, is more than flimsy. It's an absolute scandal.

Not a single government witness was able to testify that they saw defendants Dennis Banks and Russell Means commit any crime alleged in the 10-count federal indictment!

"I think the government brief as much as concedes that they have produced no evidence on any of the substantive counts," defense attorney Kenneth Tilsen said in a *Militant* interview.

"The government is proceeding on an original and unique theory for criminal liability, for which there is no legal precedent," Tilsen said. "Their theory is that Russell and Dennis were leaders and therefore by their leadership role were guilty of aiding and abetting."

"What they are seeking," Tilsen added, "is a novel and expansive interpretation of the law of conspiracy."

In a brief submitted by the defense Aug. 5, a powerful case is made for acquittal on all counts. Following oral arguments, U.S. District Judge Fred Nichol is expected to consider the mo-

tions and rule sometime this month.

A central issue is that Banks and Means, in participating in last year's seizure of Wounded Knee, S.D., were exercising their basic civil liberties in advocating fundamental changes in U.S. treatment of American Indians.

The brief states: "Defendants in this case and the other associated prosecutions have been clearly discriminated against because they are American Indians and because they have joined together and raised their voices, as is their First Amendment right, against the treatment of their people by governmental bodies. The sole effort of the United States government has been toward prosecuting those who believe in and follow a concept of Indian self-determination on Indian land. . . ."

The prosecutions have not been brought, the defense brief says, "in the interests of the American people, but are being used as a tool to harass in an attempt to crush the American Indian Movement and others seeking change."

The brief adds, "It would be a travesty for the defendants to be found guilty upon the evidence presented."

The defense brief shows that the government has not proven any of its charges. No evidence was presented that Means and Banks broke into or stole from the trading post at Wounded Knee; assaulted anyone; interfered with federal officers; possessed Molotov cocktails; stole an automobile; or conspired to commit illegal acts.

The brief also observes that while the defendants are being prosecuted for standing up for Indian rights, their opponents, including white ranchers, committed crimes and have not been prosecuted.

The defense brief reminds the court that the 1868 Sioux treaty provides that the government cannot take Indians from Sioux territory and prose-

cute them until Indians designated by the Indian tribe have heard the case. This has not been done. Further, it has been shown that the intent of the defendants was enforcement of treaty rights, and therefore no criminal intent was involved, another reason why all charges should be dismissed.

## Army brass to testify at trial

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Four high-ranking U.S. military officials have been subpoenaed to testify at the Wounded Knee trial about involvement of the Defense Department and the Army at Wounded Knee, S.D., last year.

The defense contends that military involvement at Wounded Knee was illegal because it came without a presidential order. It could be grounds for dismissal of charges against AIM leaders and others on trial here.

Expected to testify this month at a special hearing on military involvement are: Colonel Valerie Warner, chief of staff, 82nd Air Battalion; Kenneth Belieu, assistant secretary of the Army; Roland Gleazer, head of the Directorate of Military Support; and Colonel Jack Potter, chief of the logistics section, 6th Army.

Material turned over to the defense indicates that hundreds of thousands of rounds of ammunition were supplied to federal authorities at Wounded Knee by the Department of Defense. Also supplied were rifles, flares, armored personnel carriers, grenades, tear gas, helicopters and crews, and large amounts of support equipment.



Responsibility for violence at Wounded Knee belongs to government. Above, Indians file past armored personnel carrier supplied by Army.

# L.A. cops hide truth about SLA massacre

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — Were two of the entrapped Symbionese Liberation Army members shot down by Los Angeles police while they were trying to surrender during the May 17 police shootout?

This possibility is raised by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Southern California in a special analysis of a police report on the shootout in which the six SLAers died.

Intended to whitewash the police role in the incident, the police report offers added evidence that their intent was to massacre the SLAers and that there was no concern for the safety of the Black community where the police attack occurred.

The ACLU is now demanding a public probe of the entire affair.

The study of the police report was made for the ACLU by attorney Leonard Weinglass, co-counsel in the Chicago Eight and Ellsberg-Russo trials.

The police report discloses for the first time that two of the SLAers, Nancy Ling Perry and Camilla Hall, were shot down outside the house after the cops set it ablaze. The police now assert that the two women were gunned down while trying to shoot their way out.

The Weinglass study punctures the police claim that there was concern for the residents of the area. A map appended to the police report shows the neighboring houses that were evacuated.

The police had moved in nearly

four hours before they opened their attack, but the first evacuations did not begin until minutes before the shootout began and most of these evacuations did not occur until the attack was well under way.

The SLAers were given eight minutes to surrender before the cops opened fire. The official report asserts this short warning was necessary because nightfall was approaching and they feared the SLAers might escape.

But, Weinglass points out, earlier when the cops mistakenly moved in on an empty house, they also gave only an eight-minute warning, even though it was broad daylight.

The police report further acknowledges that the only instrument used to communicate with the occupants of the house was a low-volume, hand-held bullhorn.

The 140-page police report also carefully avoids mentioning that there was a working telephone in the house with a publicly listed number under the name of the tenant.

It was only when confronted at a news conference that the police acknowledged the existence of a working phone in the house.

Why didn't they use the phone? Because, a police spokesman explained, they thought they would use tear gas first and then try to reach the SLAers by phone!

The police report discloses that 80 tear gas projectiles were fired into the tiny cottage, which had floor space equal to the size of a living room 25-by-30 feet.

Queried by reporters, police acknowledged that pouring that number of projectiles into the house created an incendiary condition and that this was the reason they had fire engines standing by.

But the four fire trucks on the scene were not permitted by the police to go into action until after the roof and walls had collapsed. By then it was pretty certain that everyone inside had been shot, gassed, or roasted to death.

The inadvertent admissions of the police report give added credence to the charge originally leveled by the Citizens Research and Investigation Committee (CRIC) that the L.A. po-

lice wanted Donald DeFreeze (Cinque) dead, not dead or alive.

A week before the massacre this charge was publicly made by author Donald Freed, principal spokesperson for CRIC. He said the cops wanted Cinque dead because he had served as an informer for the L.A. police in the late 1960s and they feared that if he were captured alive he might make disclosures damaging to them.

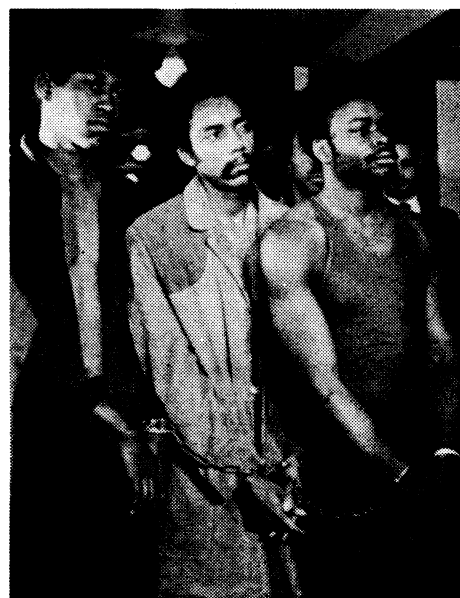
CRIC established that DeFreeze had informed on an associate to the L.A. cops when arrested by them in 1967 and that he escaped prosecution. CRIC asserts that DeFreeze functioned as an informer for the L.A. Police Department (LAPD) for several years thereafter.

His police record shows that on nine separate occasions he was picked up on various weapons possession charges but was not sent to prison until after he was wounded in an exchange of gunfire outside a Bank America branch.

According to CRIC, Cinque has been identified as a police informer by Louis Tackwood, who surfaced as an L.A. police informer in 1971.

DeFreeze was originally arrested by Ronald Farr, who was named by Tackwood as his superior in the secret Criminal Conspiracy Section of the LAPD.

If in fact DeFreeze did function in the Black community as a police informer in the 1967-69 period there could be good reason why police did not want him around to talk about it.



L.A. Black Panthers under arrest in 1969. Did cops want Cinque dead because he knew too much about their persecution?

## ...what alternative to Shankerism in AFT?

Continued from page 32

The issue that has most indelibly marked Albert Shanker's foul career has been his opposition to the demands of Black and Puerto Rican communities in New York City to have control of their schools. In 1968 Shanker led a nine-week city-wide strike against a small group of parents and community school board members who were trying to improve one of the city's most impoverished school districts, Ocean Hill-Brownsville.

In order to compel the firing of the local superintendent and to defeat pending legislation on decentralizing the city's schools, Shanker attempted to close down all of New York's 900 school buildings. The strike ended in a stalemate when it became clear that it was opposed by almost every Black and Puerto Rican organization in the city, from the Urban League and the NAACP to the Black Panther Party, as well as by significant unions.

Throughout the strike Shanker claimed that the issue was the "firing" of 17, and later 68, teachers. In fact, the teachers were transferred by the community school board to the central office of the board of education.

Thousands of teachers were either transferred or fired in New York schools each year, often because of their views on issues such as the Vietnam war. The UFT never made it a point to defend these teachers. The issue of due process was raised only when a predominantly Black and Puerto Rican school board sought to exercise those rights that were enjoyed by their white counterparts throughout the city.

Rather than ally with the Black and Puerto Rican communities, which have long been the chief victims of a racist school system, the Shanker leadership chose to pit the union against them. And to this day Selden publicly supports the actions taken by Shanker during the Ocean Hill-Brownsville strike.

### NEA-AFT merger

The issue that finally led to the split between Selden and Shanker involved one of the most important questions facing teachers in the United States, the merger of the AFT and the NEA.

Merger negotiations were in progress at the time the Shanker majority on the AFT executive board called for Selden's resignation. The Shanker forces preferred to delay the talks until Shanker himself became president



Militant/Brian Shannon

Ocean Hill-Brownsville students entering school during UFT's racist 1968 strike. Instead of working to win Black and Puerto Rican communities to an alliance with teachers, Shanker has pitted the union against these oppressed.

of the AFT. Selden, seeing that his future as an AFT leader was bleak, tried to conclude an alliance with NEA officials to preserve a position for himself before the Shanker ax fell.

He met secretly with NEA representatives in an effort to induce them to make merger proposals that the Shankerites would find embarrassing but would have to accept because they would be in keeping with the AFT's position on merger. Selden's strategy failed when NEA officials refused to accept any formula including AFL-CIO affiliation and blew the whistle on his secret talks.

What the intrigue demonstrated was that both Shanker and Selden are more concerned with their personal position and their ability to maneuver than with the urgent need to merge the two teacher organizations into the country's largest union.

### AFL-CIO affiliation

The main issue preventing merger is the question of affiliation with the AFL-CIO; on this neither Selden nor Shanker is willing to budge. Both have taken, to using "unity" rhetoric to split off as many chapters or sections of the NEA as possible.

However, the NEA need not prove its labor affiliation by joining the AFL-CIO any more than the Teamsters, the United Auto Workers, the United Electrical Workers, the West Coast Longshoremen's Union, and the United Mine Workers have to prove theirs by doing the same.

The NEA is a rapidly changing organization reflecting in large part the same increased teacher militancy that prompted the rapid growth of the AFT during the past 10 years. It is now clearly on the path to teacher unionism, despite the unevenness in its development. Of the 144 teacher strikes in the U.S. last year, for example, some 120 were led by the NEA.

A real merger strategy today requires that the full energies of the NEA and AFT be united in joint action to defend teachers from the mounting attacks on their salaries, working conditions, and on public education in general. If the only way this can be accomplished is by the AFT dropping the requirements of affiliation with the AFL-CIO, this step must be taken. If teachers in a merged organization then desire at some future point to affiliate with the AFL-CIO, they can always vote to do so.

Unfortunately, neither the leadership of the NEA nor that of the AFT

approaches the merger in such a way as to exercise the real strength of teachers in the labor movement.

Reliance on the politicians of the Democratic Party has been the hallmark of the Shanker-Selden strategy for the AFT. This is best expressed in the current national theme articulated by the AFL-CIO and taken up by AFT officials: "Elect a Veto-proof Congress"—that is, more Democrats. This policy has resulted in consistent defeats for teachers and for the labor movement as a whole.

In New York, Shanker-backed candidates helped pass the worst anti-teacher legislation in the United States, the Taylor Law, which outlaws strikes by public employees. So-called friends of labor in Congress, both Democrats and Republicans, joined to impose wage controls on teachers, which resulted in wiping out all salary gains made since 1965.

Bipartisan alliances in state and national governments have consistently tried to reduce the amount of funds available for the schools and have produced an escalating barrage of antiteacher legislation, including attacks on tenure, due process, and pension plans.

The merging of the AFT and NEA could afford teachers a new opportunity to rely on their own strength and resources in alliance with the labor movement as a whole. Coordinated teacher actions on a local, county, state, and even national level could serve as an inspiration to the rest of the labor movement to do likewise.

The formation of a political party of the labor movement based on the trade unions and allied with the struggles of oppressed nationalities is also an alternative teachers must now begin to consider in order to protect their standard of living from the growing encroachments by the parties of big business.

### Union democracy

Albert Shanker's election to the presidency of the AFT will certainly indicate a further strengthening of bureaucratic, conservative rule in the teachers union. But Selden's protestations to the contrary, the outgoing AFT president has gone along with the great bulk of the violations of democratic norms that have become commonplace in the AFT.

Until the rift became public last year, for example, Selden never opposed Shanker's use of unit-rule voting in the New York delegation. Un-

der this practice the entire New York delegation must vote at conventions whichever way the majority—that is, Shanker's caucus—votes. Thus, even if the largest unit of the AFT was split 51 percent to 49 percent on a particular issue, the minority would never be registered.

Another example of Shanker's bureaucratic method of operation is his use of the threat of termination of funds in cases where locals or units of the AFT differ with him. The pro-Shanker candidate for the presidency of the California Federation of Teachers, Larry Sibelman, is currently seeking support from teacher leaders on the basis that California will only be funded by the AFT if there is a "friendly" administration in the leadership of the state federation.

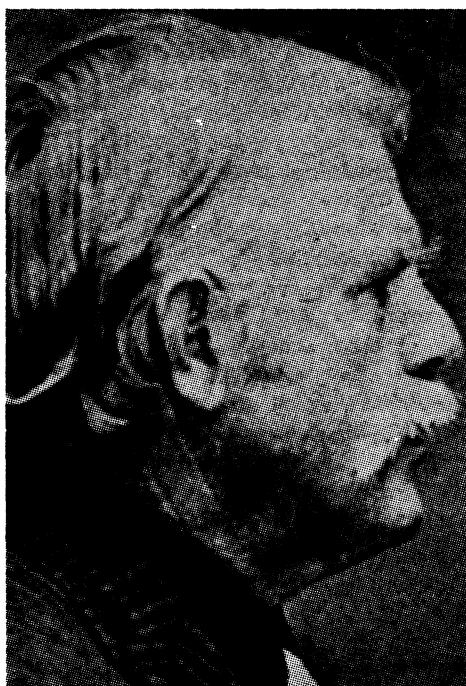
### Alternative to Shankerism

Bureaucratic rule, blind opposition to the struggles of oppressed people for better education, total support to government war policies, and collaboration with the candidates and parties of capital, which ties the labor movement to the coattails of those who benefit from its exploitation—these are the chief characteristics of Albert Shanker.

It is clear that the candidacy of Selden, his former collaborator, is no real alternative to Shankerism. A collection of disconnected individuals having little or nothing in common except hatred for Shanker is no basis for advancing the real interests of teachers. The fight against Shankerism in the AFT can only begin with a clear view of an alternative capable of using the real power of the three million teachers in the U.S.

A key component of this battle is the merger of the NEA and the AFT. This cannot be left to maneuvers at the top; it must flow from the conscious efforts of teachers to unite in common action at the local, state, and national levels.

In the course of such actions the question of alliances is naturally posed. The Shanker-Selden strategy consists in tying the AFT to the twin parties of big business. A more realistic alternative would be to begin the process of building alliances with the Black and Puerto Rican communities, which are the chief victims of rotten schools, and to begin moving towards the construction of labor's own political party. This year's AFT convention is a most appropriate place to begin a discussion of these questions.



SELDEN: Didn't complain about Shanker's policies until Shanker moved to replace him.



# Joint action by AFT & NEA wins contract

By JEFF MACKLER

Five years ago it was said that the 1,000 teachers in Hayward, Calif., a Bay Area city about 30 miles from San Francisco, were antiunion and against strikes. More than 95 percent were members of the Hayward Unified Teachers Association (HUTA), an affiliate of the National Education Association (NEA).

But this year, on May 24, 93 percent of the Hayward teachers closed down the entire school district in the most powerful and successful one-day teacher work stoppage in California history. The strike was jointly organized and planned by the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) Hayward Local 1423 and the HUTA.

The Hayward AFT was instrumental in this transformation. Four years ago, the AFT in Hayward had a membership of 23, or about 2 percent of the teachers. At first, there was little support for the activities of the AFT, which included regular but small picket lines, proposals for written contracts, support to the struggles of other unions in the area, and building teacher support for the movement against the war in Vietnam.

As the years passed, however, and as conditions of employment deteriorated, the AFT's program began to attract a growing number of teachers.

The AFT began to build alliances with the Hayward community, particularly with the growing number of activists in Chicano organizations. The AFT successfully defended the jobs of fired Chicano school aides and worked closely with the United Farm Workers (UFW). Its membership

voted to support a UFW organizer in the area and set up meetings for the UFW in the schools.

The AFT's approach to the HUTA consistently avoided factional attacks. Although almost all union proposals for joint actions were rejected by the association in the first years, it began to become clear that the HUTA leadership's rejection of realistic proposals for united actions was not in keeping with the desire of teachers to fight to defend their jobs. As a result the union membership grew to more than 350 and the association membership declined correspondingly.

In the spring of 1974, Hayward teachers began to demonstrate that the continuing deterioration in their working conditions (real wages had fallen nearly 11 percent during a five-year period) and the growing arrogance of the local school board would not be tolerated. Teachers began to openly discuss the possibility of striking.

The HUTA soon began to reflect this growing militancy, and for the first time the AFT and HUTA jointly prepared a course of action.

A deadline was set for the board of education to respond to the joint contract demands of the AFT and HUTA. When the first deadline expired, a mass meeting of all teachers was called. The 750 teachers attending voted by a 90 percent margin to reject the board's position. Another meeting was set for the following week. If the teachers again rejected the board's position, they would vote whether or not to begin strike action.

A few days before this final strike vote occurred the board itself called

a meeting to present its side of the negotiations. More than 1,000 teachers and parents attended the meeting, and when the agenda items covering the negotiations opened, two representatives of the AFT and two from the HUTA spoke. When their remarks were completed, all 1,000 people in the auditorium rose and walked out. Remaining in the room were only a handful of school administrators and principals.

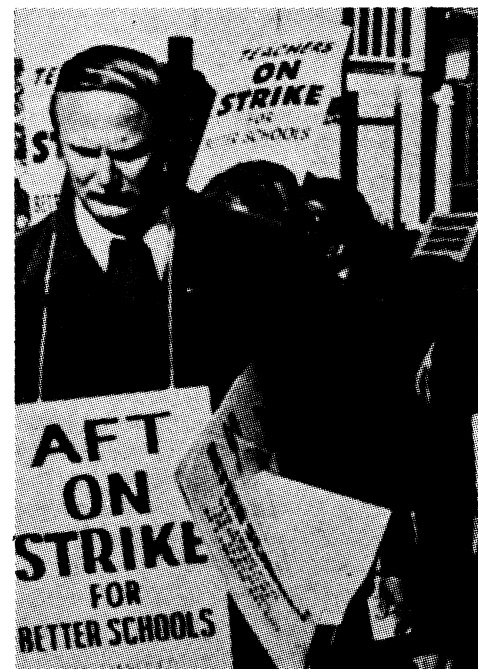
On May 22, 850 teachers voted overwhelmingly to strike the district for one day and to begin a full strike when school opens in September if their demands are not met. Their picket lines on May 24 were supported by representatives of the UFW and members of the Chicano community.

A few weeks after the strike the Hayward Unified School District agreed to most of the teachers' demands and preparation of a written contract began. The contract will provide for an 8.5 percent salary increase, two full preparation periods for all elementary school teachers, and the establishment of maximum class size levels. The contract will also provide for significant improvement in fringe benefits and extra-duty pay, the placement of child-care teachers and nurses on the teacher salary schedule, and the establishment of 11 written policies governing such things as transfers, grievances, maternity leaves, and leaves of absence.

While Hayward teachers are in agreement that their contract still leaves much to be desired, they know that the gains they made were won solely because of their unity and militancy. Although they were compelled

to drop the key demand for an escalator clause, there is growing recognition that such a cost-of-living provision is essential in future agreements.

California's first collective bargaining law is expected to be passed in the coming year. This will set off a series of election contests across the state between NEA and AFT affiliates. The experience of Hayward teachers will help in maintaining unity regardless of which organization wins the collective bargaining election. But it is becoming more and more obvious that all teachers belong in the same organization, despite the factionalism often encouraged by the state and national leaders of the NEA and AFT.



San Francisco teachers on strike. Hayward strike will help inspire other teachers to organize and fight.

## A fighting program for teacher unionists

Teachers and public education are under attack around the country.

With prices rising faster than 10 percent a year, the real buying power of teachers' wages has fallen. Pleading lack of funds, school boards refuse to grant wage increases that would match inflation.

By claiming that higher pay for teachers would mean a greater tax burden for homeowners and other working people, school boards try to pit teachers unions against "the public."

In the name of economizing, "greater productivity" is demanded. Teachers must take on more classes per week, more students per class, with less paid school time for lesson preparation. Then teachers get blamed for the poor quality of education!

State and federal funds for educa-

tion are being cut back. Even when allocations are maintained at the same dollar amounts, rising costs mean they have been cut in real buying power.

The hardest hit are Black and other minority students. Special programs for oppressed youth, such as bilingual programs for the Spanish-speaking, are the first to be wiped out. With educational financing dependent on local property taxes, poor and especially minority communities are condemned to permanently inadequate school facilities.

Minority parents are denied a voice in determining what and how their children will be taught. Racist training and hiring practices mean there are too few Black and other minority teachers.

At the same time, teacher unemployment is rising, providing a pool of

desperate, job-hungry teachers who may be recruited to break strikes.

In most states, teachers' strikes are illegal. If teachers struggle for better wages and working conditions, they may be fined, jailed, or fired. Hortonville and Timberlane show how these laws are being used to jeopardize the very right to organize.

To meet these attacks, a program for joint action by teacher unionists of both the NEA and the AFT, together with the oppressed minorities, is urgently needed:

- Decent wages for all teachers and other school employees. An escalator clause in all contracts to ensure that paychecks keep pace with the rising cost of living. No support to any type of wage controls.

- Repeal all antistrike and anti-union legislation, including the Taylor Law in New York and the federal Taft-Hartley law. No restrictions on the right of teachers and other public employees to organize and strike. No support to compulsory arbitration schemes that curtail this right.

- Cut class sizes to put every jobless teacher to work and improve the quality of education. Full federal unemployment compensation for every teacher not placed in a classroom.

- Full federal funding of public education, to provide free education for all from kindergarten through the university level. Take the tax burden for education off working people: tax the corporate profiteers, the banks, and the wealthy. Withdraw all U.S. forces from foreign lands and use the \$100-

billion war budget for education and other socially necessary programs.

- A special crash program to build new, fully equipped and adequately staffed schools in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities. Administration of this crash program, as well as determining the curriculum, hiring personnel and making decisions about other aspects of running the schools are the right of the people in these oppressed communities. Teacher unionists should unconditionally support the right of oppressed communities to control their own educational system.

- Full support for the Equal Rights Amendment for women, for equal pay for equal work, and for paid maternity leaves. Federal funding for child-care centers available to all children.

- Support free speech and assembly for students, their right to form political organizations and participate in political activities. Get all cops out of the schools and classrooms.

- Teachers confront the government directly as their employer. Bitter experience shows that the Democrats and Republicans have no interest in quality education or the welfare of teachers. Their commitment is to the profits of the monopolies and banks, and to the profit system. Teachers unions should give no support to these parties of war, racism, and strikebreaking, but should support independent political action and the formation of a labor party. Through such an independent labor party teachers and other working people could effectively fight for their interests in the political arena.



# Quotas: 'discrimination in reverse' or a step toward genuine equality?

By CATARINO GARZA

Of the 1.1 million pupils in the New York City public schools, 36 percent are Black and 23 percent are Puerto Rican and other Spanish-speaking nationalities. But the overwhelming majority of teachers are white.

Should some form of preference be given to hiring of Black and Puerto Rican teachers, such as a quota system, to correct this disgraceful imbalance?

The justice of the demand for preferential treatment of Blacks and other oppressed minorities is simple. Quotas

*Catarino Garza is a bilingual teacher in New York City and a member of the United Federation of Teachers.*

are a step—a small step, and long overdue—toward overcoming the effects of years of discrimination. This is why demands for quotas should be supported by white teachers and the entire labor movement.

## Shanker's racist campaign

However, Albert Shanker, head of New York City's United Federation of Teachers and soon to be president of the American Federation of Teachers as well, is spearheading a campaign against quotas or any other special treatment of minorities.

In his union-paid column in the *New York Times* and in the pages of the *New York Teacher*, Shanker constantly lashes out at quotas as "racism" and "discrimination in reverse."

While Shanker raises many arguments, they all boil down to two fundamental contentions: 1) that quotas mean "discrimination" against whites, and 2) that quotas violate the "merit" system and will therefore mean a "deterioration in the quality of services."

Reading Shanker's positions, one is struck by the fact that they all hide the reality of existing racist oppression behind abstractions about universal equality in a mythical free society.

## 'Merit' system?

Anyone who has ever tried to get a job as a teacher in New York knows the "merit" system is a bad joke. New teachers must trudge from school to school seeking interviews with the principals. But if they have a friend or relative in a school in which a position is open, the route becomes much easier.

Even better, if they have a relative who is a principal, they don't have to trudge or even go for an interview. This system certainly cannot be called a "merit" system.

But there's even more to it. To get a regular teaching position in New York City, a state teaching license is not enough. One must also pass a special examination by the city board of education.

This exam is being challenged in court by Black and Puerto Rican parents and teachers, backed up by the New York Civil Liberties Union and others.

They have shown that the test is culturally biased against Blacks and Puerto Ricans, who are consequently discriminated against in hiring. As David Seeley, director of the Public Education Association, said, "These tests do not predict who will be good

teachers. They do not separate good teachers from bad; what they do is separate white from nonwhite."

Nevertheless, the UFT leadership has gone to court on the side of the board of education and its racist exam. What Shanker is defending is not a "merit" system but a *white job-trust* system that perpetuates the exclusion of Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

## Bilingual teaching

The same job-trust mentality underlies the UFT leadership's opposition to the hiring of more bilingual teachers. Its position paper on the subject shows an ethnic bias that is almost incredible.

It says: "The United Federation of Teachers supports English language instruction for non-English speaking students. It also supports basic skills

Suddenly the victims of discrimination have been turned into the criminals! There are plenty of "monocultural classes" in New York, all right—and in every one of them the culture is *white* and *English-speaking*.

Instead of granting that oppressed minorities *do* have "a right to operate their own classrooms, with their own teachers and language," the UFT leadership seeks to preserve a system that forces these children to be taught by teachers who are monolingual and culturally deprived so far as the children's culture is concerned.

## What about the children?

Imagine Spanish-speaking children coming into a school where their language is treated as so unimportant that their "superiors" don't bother to learn it and often can't even pronounce the children's names correctly.



Militant/Brian Shannon

UFT teachers during 1968 strike against right of Black and Puerto Rican communities to control their schools. Shanker is interested in maintaining UFT as white job trust.

instruction in the child's native language until English can be learned." (Emphasis added.)

And then what? Learning and language are acquisitions that should be enriched all through life. According to Shanker, however, once English has been learned, there is no longer any need to learn in or to use the child's native language.

After this perfunctory nod toward bilingualism, the UFT position paper launches its real attack: "Some, who have nationalist political inclinations, would like to see these children segregated into monocultural classes taught by teachers of the same nationality. . . . believing that those of a given nationality have a right to operate their own classrooms, with their own teachers and language. . . . In espousing cultural and nationality definitions they have pushed for quota hiring policies based on these same categories."

Because of the teacher's language handicap the children are often misunderstood and can't perform the way the teacher expects.

In addition to the academic disadvantages there are the psychological blows inflicted by teachers who despise the children and their parents for being poverty-stricken ghetto residents. The children are supposed to look up to the school personnel. When there is practically no one among the staff who can relate to their experiences, their language, and the racism they suffer from every day, the damage to their self-esteem and interest in learning is incalculable.

The result? Fifty-three percent of New York City's Puerto Rican student population drops out before completing high school. One study found that of the 19,518 pupils suspended in the 1972-73 school year, 85.9 percent were Black, Puerto Rican, or other oppressed minorities.

The UFT leadership is trying to halt the hiring of bilingual teachers who have not passed the city's discriminatory exam. It says: "As a result of the present separate examination system, many teachers are being hired who do not, in fact, have English proficiency."

This claim is simply absurd. The people Shanker is talking about have graduated from college and possess, for the most part, state teaching licenses. But Shanker says their English is not good enough.

Instead he proposes that teachers now holding the New York City license receive language training to qualify for "an ancillary certificate in the second language." They would then be the bilingual teachers.

While it would not hurt these older white teachers to learn Spanish, how many would actually volunteer to do so is certainly open to question. Moreover, who will judge who is to be granted these "ancillary certificates?" Romance language departments of the colleges? The board of examiners? The UFT? Or the Puerto Rican community?

What if the examiner demands that the Spanish of the teachers be as perfect as the English the UFT wants? Spanish-speaking children have a right to learn and be taught in proper Spanish as much as in English.

## Shanker fights for privilege

Shanker's stand on bilingual education is a good illustration of what the quotas debate is really all about. Shanker exploits white teachers' fears about losing their jobs to pit them against Black and Puerto Rican teachers and parents. His charge of "discrimination in reverse" against whites is a cover-up for his attempt to maintain relative *privileges* for whites at the expense of Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

But no bilingual teacher, for example, need take another teacher's job. The children need both. The correct road for the teachers union is to rally teachers, parents, and students to fight for better education through more funding, more bilingual programs, more teachers, and smaller classes.

Samuel Ethridge, teachers' rights director of the National Education Association, has called for hiring 13,706 Spanish-speaking teachers and 15,375 Black teachers in New York City to make the proportion of minority teachers the same as that of students.

Imagine what would happen if this could be done. Wouldn't that be a glorious day for education in New York City? It would not answer all the problems, but it could lead to establishing a real coalition of teachers with the communities.

It is precisely the specter of so many Black and Puerto Rican teachers that frightens Shanker and makes him fight to prevent that day from ever dawning. He argues for hiring that is "color blind" and based on "merit," knowing full well that Blacks and Puerto Ricans live in the poorest areas, go to the worst schools, have the hardest time getting into college, and for all these reasons have the hardest time getting hired as teachers.

Quotas alone can't end this vicious cycle of oppression—it will take a complete reorganization of society to do that—but they can be a start.



## ...the real issues in NY's school District 1

Continued from page 32

speak no English at all, 4,000 who speak it so hesitantly they cannot be understood. Understood by whom? By their teachers. In September [1972], when I came to District 1, there were over 800 regular teachers in the 20 schools of our district. Six spoke Spanish. One, Chinese. Our teachers and students can't even talk to each other."

It is this situation that has made the demand for Spanish- and Chinese-language and multicultural programs in the district's schools a central demand of the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities. These communities are also fighting for the democratic right to control the schools they use.

In 1967, three experimental "community control" projects were established in New York City. When one of these districts—Ocean-Hill Brownsville—tried to hire Black and Puerto Rican teachers and establish some new teaching methods, the UFT leadership called a strike in 1968.

The city-wide strike of the 90 percent white UFT against a community school board in the Black section of Brooklyn did much to weaken the union. Within a year of the strike 20,000 teachers, including most of the Black teachers, had left the union. During the strike 11,000 teachers, allying themselves with the Black and Puerto Rican communities, crossed the picket lines with parents and students and kept many schools open.

After the strike the state legislature passed a decentralization law as a concession to the Black and Puerto Rican communities. The claim that the law gives control of the schools to the local communities, however, is a hoax. Most of the power remains in the hands of the central board.

What the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities in District 1 have done is use decentralization as a weapon to fight for real control.

In the first community school board election in 1970, a UFT-backed slate won seven of the nine seats on the District 1 board. One of the seven was



Militant/Michael Baumann

Georgina Hoggard, a Puerto Rican who later became a dedicated leader of the struggle for community control.

From 1970 to 1972 the school board meetings, which the law requires to be public, were scenes of large demonstrations by Black, Puerto Rican, Chinese, and other supporters of community control against the racist board. One by one, the UFT-backed members of the board dropped off. By June 1972 the community-control forces had an 8-to-1 majority on the board.

One of the first things the pro-community-control board did was hire Luis Fuentes as the district's superintendent. Fuentes had been hired in 1967 by the Ocean-Hill Brownsville board as a principal—making him the first Puerto Rican school principal in New York City's history.

The new board moved the district office from the district's southern edge to the heart of the barrio. One hundred

Spanish- and Chinese-speaking bilingual teachers were hired, and bicultural programs, such as Black and Puerto Rican studies programs, were established.

And perhaps most important of all, the parents and students were involved in the decision-making process.

This is what the UFT leadership called "mob rule." The UFT tops said the bicultural programs taught "race hatred" to the students.

In the two school board elections since 1970, the UFT-backed slate has won a majority both times—though each time a smaller one. The Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities, by mobilizing themselves, have been able to defend gains made under the pro-community-control board.

In the course of the struggle in District 1, a number of teachers have been won to the side of the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities. Unfortunately, most New York City teachers still follow the racist lead of UFT President Albert Shanker.

Shanker has played on the racist fears of white teachers to get their backing. "The teachers fear they will lose their jobs," Sonia Rodriguez, a teacher at P.S. 20 told *The Militant*. "This is especially so in terms of the bilingual programs," she continued, "where teachers feel that since they speak only English, they will lose their jobs."

Instead of fighting alongside the community for more funds to provide for bilingual education without endangering current jobs, the UFT, under Shanker's leadership, has fought against the much needed programs.

"Last year, because of budget cuts, a lot of teachers were going to be 'excessed,'" Claudio Tavaréz, a paraprofessional and UFT member at P.S. 122, told *The Militant*. "Parents tried to join with the teachers to fight against the cutbacks, but the UFT leadership didn't want to unite with these parents, who they had been calling gangsters and vigilantes," Tavaréz said.

Shanker did everything he could to

undercut any united action between teachers and the community in the Lower East Side. He was finally able to work out a deal with the central school board by which funds earmarked for bilingual programs would be used to maintain the regular teaching posts. This pulled the wool over the eyes of most of the teachers, but unless Shanker can come up with another deal, these teachers will lose their jobs this fall.

It is because Shanker's racist policies place the UFT in opposition to the just struggles of the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese people of the Lower East Side that these peoples have developed hostility toward the union. This is not because they are opposed to unions in general, or to gains for teachers, as the UFT leadership claims.

"Unions are good," commented Ana Villegas when asked about the community's attitude toward the UFT. "I belong to the UFT and I think it has greatly aided the teaching profession. But on the question of community control, it acts more like a job trust than a union," she said.

"Teachers should identify with the desires and needs of the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities—whose sons and daughters they teach," says Tavaréz. "These oppressed people are fighting for a better life. Teachers should be part of that struggle."

Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese Community Control in New York City

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## Detroit teachers burned by arbitration

By MICHAEL HILLS

DETROIT—Teachers here are under intense pressure to accept a proposed new contract with the Detroit board of education.

This contract, written by a state mediation board, provides for an inadequate wage increase and no improvements in working conditions. It also introduces an antiunion "accountability" scheme.

Michael Hills is a member of the Highland Park, Mich., Federation of Teachers, Local 681.

In an attempt to make sure teachers don't strike this fall for better terms, Michigan Governor William Milliken, Mayor Coleman Young, local businessmen, and officials of the United Auto Workers and the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO have all demanded that teachers approve the contract.

Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) President Mary Ellen Riordan and the DFT executive board have also recommended acceptance of the mediated pact.

The situation Detroit teachers face now results from the way last fall's strike was conducted and the terms on which it was settled. Teachers struck then for 43 days, the longest

teachers strike in Detroit history.

Despite the solidarity shown by the teachers and the support by students and parents, they achieved at best a defensive standoff. Over the opposition of a large minority of union members, reflected by an even split of the DFT executive board, Riordan rammed through a proposal to accept binding arbitration.

The arbitrators did not even give teachers the language of the contract until the day that the contract year ended. When they did, the fears of those who had opposed arbitration were amply born out.

Teachers had started out demanding a 9.7 percent wage increase and a cost-of-living clause. The cost-of-living demand was dropped even before arbitration, and teachers were awarded only an 8 percent increase. The proposed contract for next year again offers 8 percent.

The striking teachers had also called for class sizes to be limited to 35. The arbitration panel agreed to a limit of 34 from kindergarten through fourth grade, and 35 in the higher grades. The limits were never put into effect, however, and classes still include up to 40 students. Despite the overcrowding, 2,000 teachers were laid off when the contract year ended.

The proposed new contract simply calls for implementing the previously awarded class limits. The only mention of the laid-off teachers is that their recall may be "negotiated."

When DFT members narrowly voted to accept arbitration and end their strike last fall, they had been hit by court orders ruling their strike illegal and imposing huge fines on

the union. In trying to overcome the grave problems posed for teacher unionists by antistrike laws governing public employees, some union leaders have pressed for new laws that would include arbitration provisions as an alternative to strikes.

But the experience in Detroit—like many others—shows that arbitration

Continued on page 30



Militant/Linda Nordquist

Detroit students demonstrate in support of teachers during 1973 strike

## The pillage of Latin America

*Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries in the Pillage of a Continent* by Eduardo Galeano. Monthly Review Press. New York, 1973. Paper, \$3.95.

In the Western Hemisphere we grew up being taught that in this part of the world there are the poor countries, which have always been poor, and then there is the United States, which has always somehow produced all the wealth. *Open Veins of Latin America* is written for anyone and everyone who knows little or nothing of Latin America except that they have been lied to.

This is the second book of Galeano's to be published, the first being *Guatemala: Occupied Country*. It is not the first attempt at a general overview of Latin America's history and the causes and dynamics of its economic underdevelopment, but it is certainly among the best. *Open Veins* is of necessity only a sketch, an outline of the five centuries since the conquest. Yet it provides its readers with information indispensable for understanding the real Latin America and the role assigned it by its conquerors through the centuries and today—that

## Books

of a victim for world imperialism.

The book exposes falsehoods and myths about Latin America with devastating clarity: the "helpfulness" of U.S. aid and loans; the "progressive" national bourgeoisie's "independence" from the imperialist stranglehold; the "overpopulation" of Latin America.

It was Latin America's wealth that attracted rising European capitalism's attention and swords, not its mythical "poverty." Latin America, overflowing with wealth and accessible natural resources, was bled white and splintered into a dozen countries under the murderous exploitation of the European powers.

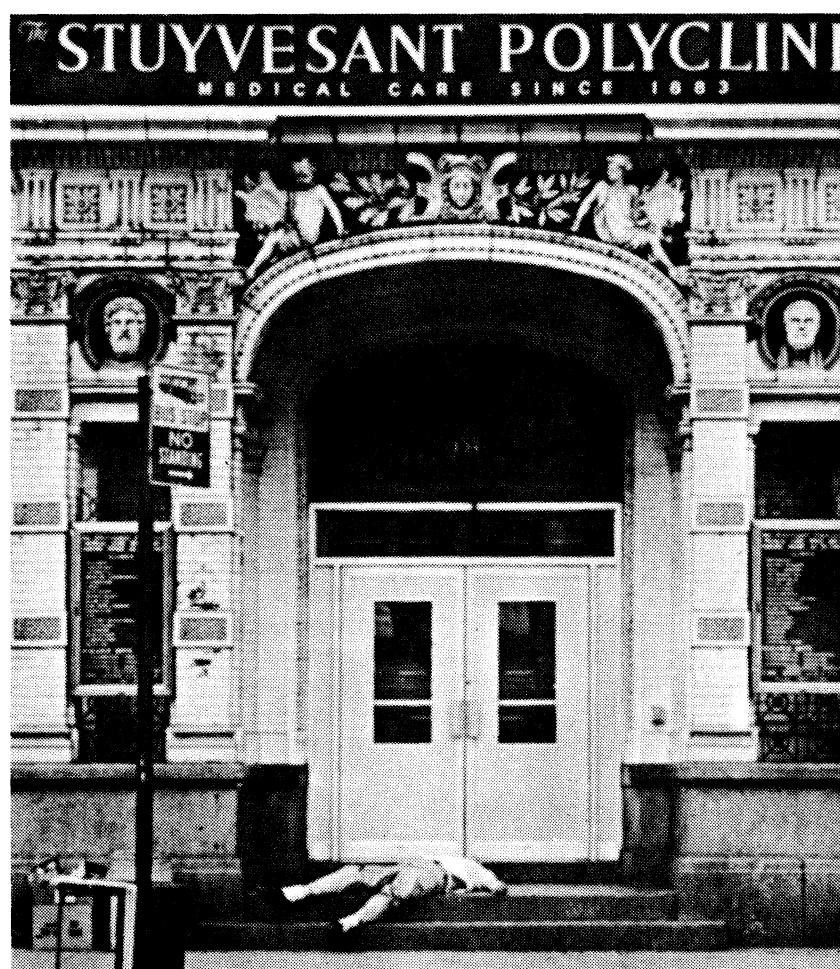
The veins of Latin America are still open today, though the methods of plunder have changed. The continent still lies prostrate, now more than ever under the claws of the North American eagle. The development of Latin America's underdevelopment by the United States and the other capitalist powers goes on.

*Open Veins* will help its readers discover the true history of Latin America. And knowing the history of "the region of the open veins" will aid the struggle to end its oppression.

— FLOYD FOWLER



Impoverished Brazilian children



## 'Winter in America'

*Winter in America* by Gil Scott-Heron and Brian Jackson. Produced by Perpiss-Fall Music, Inc. Released by Strata East Records.

This hot new album by poet-composer Gil Scott-Heron and Brian Jackson tells of the despair of countless Blacks snared in the clutches of white racist America. And each cut mirrors the resultant anguish and yearning for change that weighs on so many of today's young Black artists.

Scott-Heron, who gained popularity from his earlier 45 rpm single, "The Revolution Will Not Be Televised," unveils his canniest lyrical style in four of the eight cuts on the album: "The Bottle," "Rivers of My Father," "Back Home," and "H2Ogate Blues."

Especially in "The Bottle," the melody and words—*See that Black boy over there runnin' scared, his old man got a problem/ And its a bad one/ He done quit his nine to five, now he drinks full time and he's sho nuff livin' in a bottle*—are as addicting as the liquid in "the bottle."

The most colorful cut on the album is the eight-minute long "H2O-

## Records

gate Blues," a bristling account about King Richard and crew. Written last October, it is "dedicated to Spearhead Ex, the ex-second-in-command in terms of this country."

Give a listen:

*Just how blind will America be?*

*The world is on the edge of its seat—defeat on the horizon;*

*Very surprisin' that we all could see the plot and claimed that we could not.*

*Just how blind America?*

*Just as Vietnam exploded into rice, snap, crackle, and pop could not stop people determined to be free;*

*Just how blind will America be?*

*Ecological warfare: above all else destroy the land if we can't break the Asian will we'll bomb the dikes and starve the man. America, the international Jeckyl-and-Hyde.*

*Just how blind America?*

*How long will the citizens sit and wait;*

*It's looking like Europe in '38;*

*Did they move to stop Hitler before it was too late?*

*How long America before the consequences of keeping the school system segregated, allowing the press to be intimidated, watching the price of everything soar, and hearing complaints because the rich want more?*

*How long America?*

*Remember Dita Beard and ITT, the slaughter of Attica, the CIA in Chile—knowing nothing about Allende;*

*Augusta, Ga.; Kent State, Jackson State, Southern Louisiana, hundreds of unauthorized bombing raids, the chaining and gagging of Bobby Seale;*

*Somebody tell these Maryland governors to be for real.*

*So we recall all of these events just to prove the waterbuggers in the Watergate wasn't no news.*

*But there are those who swear they've seen King Richard, King Richard, King Richard beneath that cesspool, Watergate.*

— BAXTER SMITH

## 'Harold and Maude'

*Harold and Maude*. Directed by Hal Ashby. Produced by Colin Higgins and Charles Mulvehill. Starring Ruth Gordon and Bud Cort.

If a local movie theater books *Harold and Maude*, run to see it. Although it has a rather mundane title and certainly an unbelievable plot, the film is delightful. For all of the funerals, attempted suicides, and hearses of the movie, it is really a film celebrating life and rebellion. It manages to spoof the military (and its commander in chief, Nixon), the Church, and the family.

Now, a comedy that manages to challenge such basic American institutions and keep the audience laughing is deserving of some fancy award. But additionally, it's one of the very few movies that turns the cult of the ever-young upside down and has as its romantic lead an 80-year-old woman.

Harold is a very rich, and very bored, young man who spends his life attempting suicide. Maude, played marvelously by Ruth Gordon, teaches Harold how to live. She rescues dying trees, liberates birds from pet stores,

## Film

and models to keep herself in shape, all the while demonstrating her tenacity not to be beaten down by society.

Harold falls in love with her, and not just in some abstract way. He wants to marry her, over the objections of his mother, his psychiatrist, his uncle (who was General MacArthur's right-hand man), and the family priest.

One of the great moments of the film is the priest's reaction to the thought of Harold's living with an older woman. His deep hatred of women and fear of their bodies reveals his pathology. In fact, all of those who uphold society's values are seen as shallow, plastic, decaying, and mentally ill people.

Although Harold loves Maude and Maude loves Harold, the film is not a personal love story with a happy ending. When Harold declares his love, Maude responds affectionately, "That's good. Now, go and love some others."

Maude disappears just like the fairy godmother is supposed to do. But her spirit of defiance and her capacity for love indicate the power of life over all those forces of death.

— DIANE FEELEY





# Memorial meeting pays tribute to Greg Nickel

By ROSE OGDEN

PHILADELPHIA—Greg Nickel, an activist in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, died tragically here July 27. He was robbed and killed while out walking late at night after a party at a friend's home. There is no indication that the killing was politically motivated.

A memorial meeting was held July 30. Comrades and friends who had worked with him to build the socialist movement in Phoenix, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia were present or sent messages.

Barry David, organizer of the Socialist Workers Party in Philadelphia, told the meeting how it was that Greg became a socialist and of his role in building the socialist movement.

The Vietnam war was what convinced Greg to dedicate his life to the fight for socialism. He joined the Young Socialist Alliance at the age of 19 while a student at Arizona State University, just two months before the May 1970 antiwar upsurge and national student strike.

The Phoenix YSA played a leadership role in the student upsurge there, which included mobilizations of 6,000 and 8,000, and as a result Greg got his first lesson on the role socialists can play in mass struggles.

Greg soon became organizer of the Phoenix YSA. Later, after moving to Los Angeles, he became regional YSA organizer for Southern California and Arizona. When he moved to Philadelphia several years later, he played a leadership role in the YSA there.

In describing Greg's contribution to the movement, David said Greg was the kind of person many people tend to underestimate.

"He was quiet and, I guess, very shy," he said. "You only began to realize just how much he understood and what kind of a role he could play after you had known him for a while and had a chance to work with him."

"In capitalist society the stars, the hotshots, the bigmouths often stand out above the crowd. For us, we value the collective contributions, the pool-

ing of talents of everybody. Leadership means knowing how to organize a team and be part of a team.

"That is where Greg really excelled. He was the kind of person who could listen to others before he expressed himself. He could weigh their ideas, balance them against his own, and as a result he often came up with the right answers to problems that arose."

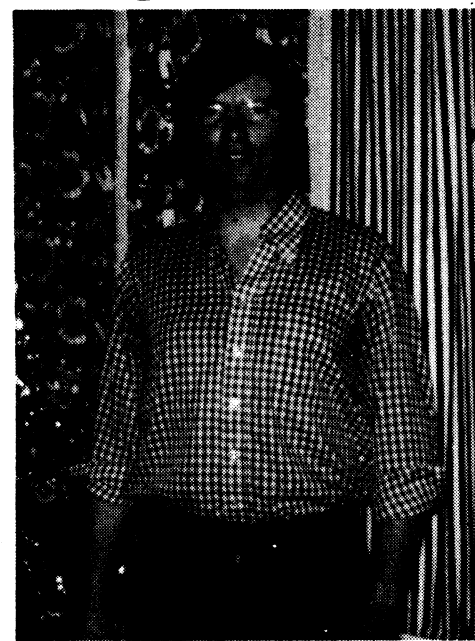
David described how Greg had helped to build the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* sales campaigns in Philadelphia. He explained how, partly as a result of Greg's efforts as YSA sales director, regular, organized street sales are now "almost second nature" to *Militant* and *YS* supporters in Philadelphia.

"Greg never talked much about his personal feelings except to his closest friends," David said. "But in everything he did, in all the contributions he made, one thing is clear: the party was his life and everything else was secondary."

"He never doubted that a socialist revolution was possible. Everything he did was subordinated to this goal."

Andrew Pulley, national chairman of the YSA, also spoke. "It is saddening to lose any of our precious cadre, each of which, as Trotsky said, embodies a little of the fate of humankind," Pulley said. "Regardless of who killed Greg, or why, the culprit is the capitalist system. It created the soil for the growth of desperation and violence."

"Greg spent his short adult life in activities that can rid the world of the conditions that drive people to violence. We should rededicate our lives to that great monumental task of building the socialist movement that can help sweep away capitalist society, which has claimed countless human lives in addition to that of comrade Greg."



GREG NICKEL: The party was his life.



Antiwar action at Arizona State. Vietnam war convinced Greg to join socialist movement.

Elizabeth Stone, a member of the SWP political committee, also spoke. She said Greg was a person who had many of the qualities that count for the most in the socialist movement. "He took responsibility for the movement," she said. "He took responsibility, along with others, for thinking out the campaigns of the SWP and YSA. And he took responsibility for seeing that the work was carried out. Those who worked most closely with him say he was a clear political thinker, an extremely thoughtful person, and that he was 100 percent in his dedication to the revolutionary movement. He couldn't imagine any other meaningful life besides that of trying to change things and create a better society."

"Our response to this tragedy," she concluded, "is to rededicate ourselves to building the revolutionary socialist movement."

## CP challenged on Portugal

# N.Y. socialists launch massive petition drive

By JANICE LYNN

NEW YORK—In the first two days of the New York State Socialist Workers Party petitioning drive, campaign supporters collected 23,444 signatures, bringing them ahead of their projected schedule.

New York State election law requires the SWP to gather 20,000 signatures for its statewide ticket, headed by Derrick Morrison for governor and Rebecca Finch for U.S. Senate. In addition, 3,500 signatures are required for each of three congressional candidates—Katherine Sojourner, from the 18th C.D.; Claire Moriarty, from the 20th C.D.; and Maxine Williams, from the 12th C.D.

Socialist campaign supporters have set a goal of obtaining 56,000 signatures to place eight candidates on the ballot for the November elections.

In New York City, more than 150 campaign supporters were on street corners and at shopping centers and bus and subway stops on Saturday, Aug. 3, asking registered voters to help place a socialist alternative to the Democrats and Republicans on the ballot.

Top petitioner for the all-day mobilization was Mark Friedman from Brooklyn, who collected 1,018 signatures, topping all previous petition records. Friedman stood on a street corner in Brownsville and, working five petition boards at once, asked voters to sign to put Derrick Mor-

ison and his running mates on the ballot.

"People were more receptive than ever before to signing a petition to place candidates on the ballot who offered an alternative to the two capitalist parties. People were angry about Watergate and about the inability of any of the officeholders to solve the problems of racism, inflation, and unemployment" Friedman reported.

Campaign supporters in Buffalo, Albany, Binghamton, and Westchester County also participated in the petitioning effort.

Some Manhattan petitioners reported that signatures were being gathered for Communist Party candidates at a few locations.

The CP announced its statewide slate of candidates for public office on July 26, six months after the SWP slate began a vigorous campaign. The CP ticket is headed by gubernatorial candidate José Ristorucci and U.S. senatorial candidate Mildred Edelman.

The New York State Socialist Workers campaign issued a leaflet, "Questions to the Communist Party Candidates," which was distributed Aug. 3 to CP petitioners and released to the news media.

The leaflet says in part, "For months, the CP's paper, the *Daily World*, has reported favorably the policies of the Communist Party of Portugal (PCP). The PCP organized demonstrations against striking postal work-

ers fighting for wage increases to compensate for rising prices.

"Where do the Communist Party candidates stand on the PCP's finking and outright opposition to the postal workers' legitimate strike against the capitalist regime of General Spínola?"

The leaflet also asked, "Where do Ristorucci and Edelman really stand on immediate independence for the African colonies?"

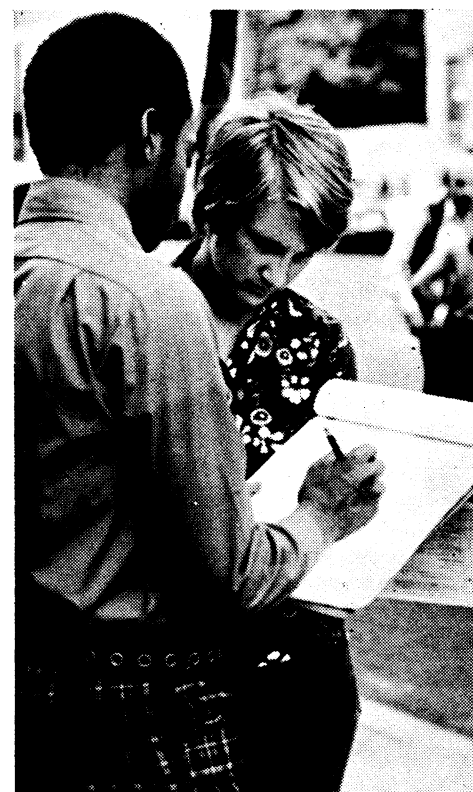
The Socialist Workers candidates have been fighting to expose the fake election campaign reforms of the Democrats and Republicans. In a news conference Aug. 2, Morrison, Finch, and Sojourner declared that they would not comply with the section of the federal election campaign law that requires all candidates to give the names, addresses, and occupations of all their contributors of more than \$100. They cited harassment, wiretapping, and illegal surveillance of members and supporters.

A *New York Times* story on their noncompliance stated, "They also maintained that the requirements were unconstitutional and said that the American Civil Liberties Union was preparing to challenge the constitutionality of the requirements in the Federal courts."

Referring to the CP's support to the disclosure law in Minnesota and its opposition to the SWP's application for exemption from this law, the New York Socialist Workers campaign leaf-

let also asked the CP candidates, "Where do Ristorucci and Edelman stand on the antilabor disclosure provisions of the federal election campaign law? Will they support the SWP's fight against the disclosure law?"

Copies of this leaflet can be ordered from the SWP Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.



Militant/Michael Baumann

# Calendar

## CHICAGO

**DISSENT IN EASTERN EUROPE TODAY.** Speaker: Karel Kovanda, president of Czechoslovakian Student Union in 1968. Sat., Aug. 31, 8 p.m. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

## DETROIT

**MARKISM VS. MAOISM.** Speaker: Peter Seidman, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Aug. 16, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

## LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** The history of the Russian revolution: its lessons for today. Wed., Aug. 14, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: 25 cents. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (213) 483-1512 or 483-2581.

# ...CWA

Continued from page 4

ing made in "continuing negotiations."

A report from Los Angeles telephone operators says the company profits warrant more pay for the workers. "American Telephone & Telegraph reported earnings of almost 8.6 percent on total investment for the first quarter of 1974, up 11.8 percent over a year earlier. This is the highest return since 1929.

"AT&T took \$2.99-billion in profits in 1973, up 18 percent from the previous year. Productivity—output per worker per hour—is up 8 percent last year alone and 50 percent since 1960. Stockholders' earnings were up 16.5 percent last year. Telephone rates are up, a whopping \$200-million just granted by the public utilities commission in California. Everything is up except wages.

"Our wages haven't risen at all in more than a year," the Los Angeles report says.

# ...cover-up

Continued from page 6

fessor, Polytechnic Institute of New York; Albert Maltz, screenwriter; and Doctor H. Stuart Hughes, Harvard University.

Nearly a hundred prominent individuals across the United States have backed the exemption case.

Additional messages of support for the exemption fight are being sought. They should be sent to the

State Ethics Commission, 74 State Office Building, St. Paul, Minn. 55155, with copies to the socialist campaign headquarters at 25 University Ave. S.E., Minneapolis, Minn. 55414.

# ...Portugal

Continued from page 10

free to go or stay.

The Frelimo officer reportedly said his group would then inform the inhabitants of the villages of the "liberation movement's policy of cooperation with the white settlers," the *Times* says.

*Newsweek* reports that Frelimo has guaranteed that white "rights and property will not be jeopardized." However, in order for the three colonies to, as Spinola said in his speech, "take their destinies into their own hands," the liberation forces will have to "jeopardize white property." They will find that they must take measures that go beyond the framework of formal political independence when it comes—socialist measures.

# ...Vietnam

Continued from page 11

total approved by Congress for the current year, and the Senate reduced the total to \$900-million.

"The [House and Senate] conferees agreed on \$1-billion."

What does President Thieu get with \$1-billion worth of U.S. military stocks? A detailed report in the *Congressional Record* included: 29 A-37B light attack aircraft, 4 C-130 tactical transport planes, 51 TOW antitank missile launchers (and 24,000 antitank missiles), 194 M-113 personnel carriers, 13 M-125 mortar carriers, 94 M60 machine guns, 84 M202A1 rocket launchers, plus all of the support equipment necessary to keep this hardware functioning.

Congress pretends to object to U.S. support for the Saigon regime. It makes a show of whittling down the Pentagon requests—which have undoubtedly been submitted with an understanding of these political niceties.

The truth of the matter is that the bloody counterrevolutionary war continues and the Thieu regime continues to stay in power because it is backed overwhelmingly by the Democratic and Republican parties.

Meanwhile a report issued in Wash-

ington Aug. 3 by the House Foreign Affairs Committee revealed that John G. Dean, the U.S. ambassador to Cambodia, regularly gives military advice to President Lon Nol and other officials despite the fact that this is supposedly outlawed by Congressional measures.

According to the report, "In order to insure proper end use of equipment, the United States has found it necessary to help the Cambodians to develop ports to receive the equipment, repair roads and bridges on which to move it, train personnel to operate it, build housing for trainees, establish supply systems for efficient distribution and reorder, create facilities for maintenance and repair, and educate them to run the logistics and other systems."

Ambassador Dean contended that he was living up to the letter of the law, which only ruled out Americans acting as "combat unit advisers." According to Dean, "Congress did not mean to preclude 'advising' at the level at which he performs." He is probably right.

Congress passed the bill supposedly preventing U.S. military aid to Cambodia under mass pressure after months of stalling. It undoubtedly is filled with sufficient loopholes to make the full-scale Pentagon support to Cambodia described in the House report perfectly "legal."

# ...Detroit

Continued from page 27

is a trap. To win higher wages and better schools, teachers can rely only on their own united strength and the support they can win from parents, students, and the rest of the labor movement, not on the "goodwill" of arbitrators. The "impartial" arbitration panels always turn out to be weighted on the side of the employer, in this case the school board.

Of course, exactly what can be won in a particular struggle depends on the strength of the union at that time, and sometimes teachers may be forced to accept arbitration. But when this happens, honest union leaders must call it by its right name: a concession and a setback. To foster illusions in what arbitration can accomplish can only weaken the union.

The position of Detroit teachers in last fall's strike was also weakened by divisions between the DFT and the

Black community, especially around the issue of teacher "accountability."

Seventy percent of Detroit's 270,000 public school students are Black, while nearly 60 percent of the teachers are white. Black parents are angry about the poor education their children are getting. They want a voice in the hiring of teachers and determination of teaching methods, curricula, and materials.

Some parents mistakenly thought the schoolboard's "accountability" plan would improve the quality of education.

In fact, the board's plan, which is included in the proposed new contract, only means teachers will be evaluated by an administration-dominated committee to decide if they "merit" advancement and pay increases. This gives the administrators a powerful weapon for discriminating against militant teachers and favoring those friendly to the administration.

There is a world of difference between making teachers accountable to the school board and making them accountable to the Black community. The only way teachers can gain badly needed community support to defeat antiunion "merit pay" schemes is by wholeheartedly supporting the just demands of the Black community for quality education under Black control.

Unfortunately the DFT leadership has failed to do this. While DFT officials by no means follow the racist policies of Albert Shanker, they have refused to speak out in favor of Black community control.

The Detroit board of education has raised the "residency question" in a similar way to foster divisions between teachers and the community. The board proposes to require all teachers to live in the city of Detroit within one year. About one-fourth now live in the suburbs.

The Black community might well decide that residency is an important criterion for having teachers who can relate to their students. If so, teachers must support that decision. The board's proposal, however, is purely demagogic. Its aim is not Black control of Black education, but further slashing the number of teachers in the school system.

If Detroit teachers draw the correct lessons from the past year's experiences, they will be able to counter the board's attacks by a united fight of teachers, students, and the Black community for better schools. That is the road to building a stronger teachers union.

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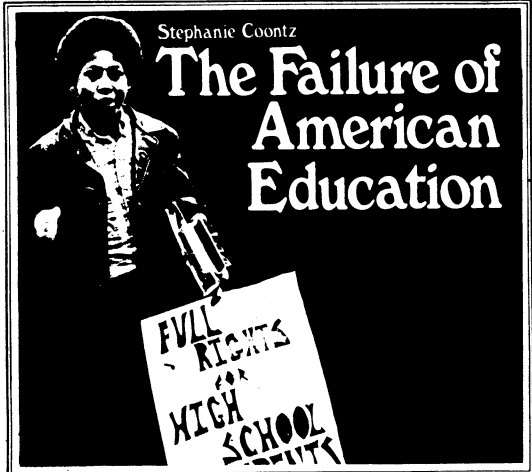
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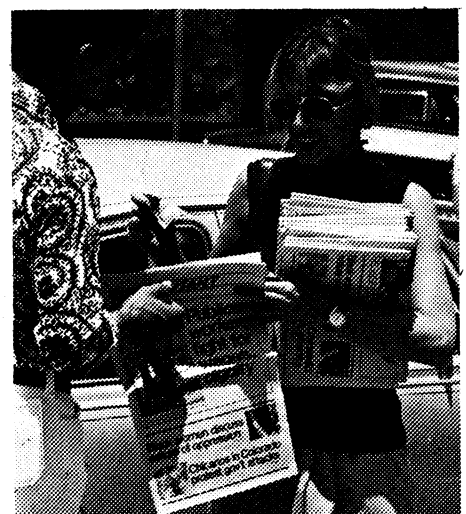
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## Issues facing AFT convention

# What alternative to Shankerism?

By JEFF MACKLER

Albert Shanker, currently president of the 70,000-member United Federation of Teachers in New York City, will seek the presidency of the 425,000-member American Federation of Teachers (AFT) at its fifty-eighth annual convention Aug. 19-23. Shanker will be opposed at the Toronto convention by his longtime colleague and

**Jeff Mackler is vice-president of the Hayward, Calif., Federation of Teachers, Local 1423.**

collaborator David Selden, who is the current AFT president.

Shanker's majority on the AFT executive council has virtually paralyzed Selden's activity for the past year and has made him somewhat of an outcast in his own organization.

Lacking a coherent program of his own, Selden's election to three terms as AFT president has been dependent on the votes of the Shanker machine. When Shanker decided last year to take the AFT presidency for himself, Selden's cries of "Foul" fell on deaf ears, as did his sudden surge of criticism of Shanker on issues such as

Vietnam, civil rights, union democracy, and merger with the National Education Association (NEA).

Selden's outburst of conscience lacked even a semblance of credibility because it is well known in the AFT that during his six years as president he failed to act on these issues in any way that distinguished him from Shanker. Selden now claims, for example, that he was opposed to Shanker's support for the Vietnam war.

However, while Selden may have personally believed that the war in Vietnam was wrong, during his entire six-year term he never fought for such a position in the union. In the meantime, Shanker consistently smeared antiwar demonstrators as "communists" and "NLF supporters" in his New York local.

### Civil rights

Similarly, on the issue of civil rights, it was only after Shanker moved to oust Selden in December 1973 that Selden began to criticize Nixon's appointment of Peter Brennan as U.S. Secretary of Labor.

Brennan, whose appointment was

warmly praised by Shanker, had earned an unsavory reputation while he was head of the powerful New York Building and Construction Trades Council. In that position he had opposed local and federal efforts to open the notoriously racist construction trades to minority workers, and he had organized demonstrations in support of the war in Vietnam.

Shanker's support to Brennan was based primarily on Brennan's opposition to "quota systems," or preferential hiring for Blacks and other oppressed minorities in the construction trades. Shanker has been campaigning on the same basis in public education employment.

According to the Shanker-Brennan logic, even if a particular trade is exclusively white and has systematically excluded minority workers, it is "discrimination in reverse" to give any preference to minority workers in filling new job openings.

Selden had the opportunity to speak out on this question at last year's AFT convention when a resolution favoring preferential hiring of Chicano teachers came to the floor for debate. Delegates from Shanker's

tightly controlled caucus rose to condemn the resolution and eventually defeated it, but Selden never said a word.

*Continued on page 24*



**SHANKER & PETER BRENNAN:** Both supported war in Vietnam, opposed job rights of oppressed minorities.

## Behind the fight in N.Y.'s District 1



**Demonstration in District 1.** Shanker leadership has pitted UFT against Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents demanding a decent education for their children.

By NORMAN OLIVER

The United Federation of Teachers (UFT), the most powerful local of the American Federation of Teachers, has been unable to prevent the New York City school board from firing several thousand teachers during the past couple of years. This year, a 1.3 percent cut in the city budget will throw 1,851 teachers out of work, and the lack of matching funds for \$37-million in federal money could lead to the laying off of 4,000 more teachers, school aides, and paraprofessionals.

One of the factors contributing to the weakness of the UFT is its failure to ally itself with the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities.

The UFT has followed the racist policies of the Albert Shanker leadership. A prime example of Shankerism in action is the role of the UFT in New York City's Lower East Side in school District 1.

The Shanker leadership of the UFT has tried to cloud over the real issues

involved in the struggle in District 1. "Shanker says that what is happening in District 1 is that a small group of political extremists, which he calls the 'Fuentes Band,' is trying to take over the schools," Ana Villegas, a teacher at Public School 63 and a member of the UFT, told *The Militant*. "What is really happening is that the parents are fighting to get a decent education for their children."

Seventy-three percent of the students in District 1 are Puerto Rican, 14 percent are Black, 7 percent are white, and 6 percent are Chinese. Yet the schools are run by a majority white school board.

By the time they reach the eighth grade, 85 percent of the district's students are functionally illiterate. As Luis Fuentes, the school superintendent in the district, pointed out in a speech he gave on New York college campuses in early 1973, "There is no great mystery to these statistics. There are 2,000 children in District 1 who

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